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HOPE not hate

Momentum stalled

UKIP fail to make electoral breakthrough despite huge vote

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May-June 2015
Issue no. 19 Price £3.50



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HOPE not hate

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Nick Lowles

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Momentum stalled

HOWEVER MUCH UKIP and its media cheerleaders want to dress it up, the election results were bad for the party. Yes, it got a huge number of votes and, yes, it came second in 120 constituencies but in terms of its original intention to gain a foothold in Westminster and ideally hold the balance of power – it failed.

Part of the reason it failed was because of the incredible work of HOPE not hate, which, as this magazine outlines, campaigned intensively in the key seats and can proudly boast of making a significant difference.

A massive and heartfelt “Thanks” must go to the hundreds of people who took part in our campaigning and the 4,200 supporters whose donations made it possible.

BACK TO WORK

With the elections over HOPE not hate is drawing up a work programme for the year ahead. With 3.8 million people voting for UKIP, and the party now having over 500 councillors and control of one council, there is clearly work to do. HOPE not hate will be monitoring the performance of the UKIP councillors whilst starting the long, slow work of building groups in the local communities where UKIP is strongest so we can begin to offer an alternative narrative to the frustrations and alienation felt by many people.

The development of our HOPE Academy, which will seek to train hundreds of people in community organising will be an essential first step in this direction.

On a national level, HOPE not hate will be engaging with, and where necessary challenging, the government’s programme where it impacts upon our work. With a

new policy officer in place and an upgraded communications team, we hope to be able to make more effective interventions in debates over extremism, cohesion and community engagement.

The coming 12 months is also likely to see new demands on our research team. As Matthew Collins reveals in this issue, Stephen Lennon’s return to frontline political activity next month is likely to see a resurgence of anti-Muslim activity. His plans for a Mohammed cartoon competition could generate an angry and possibly violent reaction.

At the same time, we are witnessing resurgence of far right antisemitism, both online and on our streets. This will require us to heighten our already excellent surveillance but also, where possible, use these threats to bring communities together around what they have in common as we are doing in Golders Green, north London.

DEFINING HOPE

HOPE not hate will also use the summer to better define our mission statement – not only what we are against but a philosophical grounding in the values we stand for.

Whether it is deciding where freedom of speech/expression stops and hate begins or understanding the differences between religious conservatism and extremism, there are many emerging political and philosophical challenges we need to address.

Answering these, along with developing a value system that underpins our work, will not only create clarity in our own mission but it help us navigate our way through some choppy and uncertain waters ahead.

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THE SPANISH FAR RIGHT'S SINISTER SHADOW IN CATALONIA

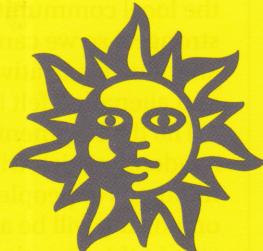
HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 95,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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**HOPE
not hate**

CONTRIBUTORS



CAS MUDDE

Academic Cas Mudde places UKIP's rise in the context of rising populism across Europe



ROBIN SAMSON

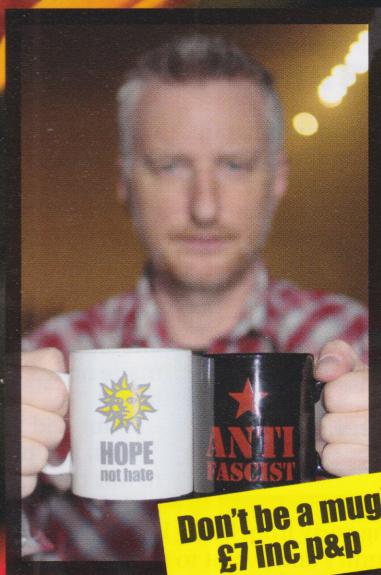
HOPE not hate supporter Robin Samson recounts his experiences on the campaign trail



JEAN-YVES CAMUS

French political scientist Jean-Yves Camus looks at the family split at the heart of the Front National

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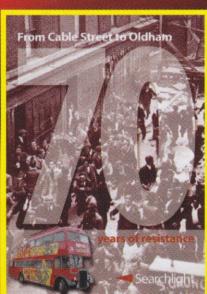
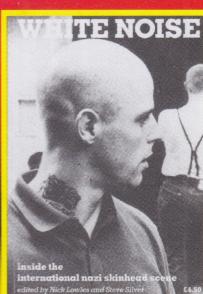
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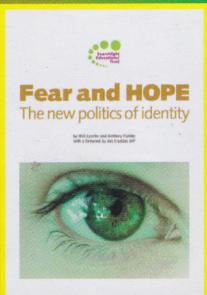
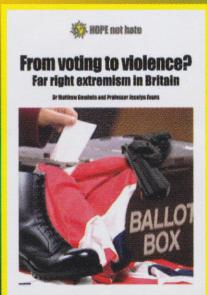
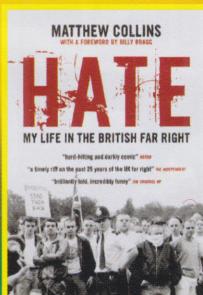
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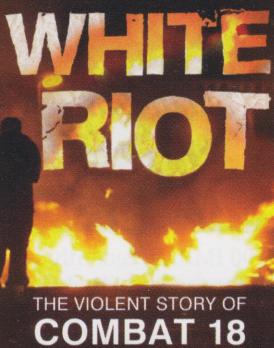
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NICK LOWLES



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Kazi Islam, convicted of grooming a vulnerable youngster

Imams to 'reclaim internet' from extremists



Photo:
imamsonline.
com

OVER 100 IMAMS recently gathered in London for the launch of *Haqiqah* or "the reality" which has been created by British Muslim scholars as a direct response to the threat of radicalisation from groups like Islamic State (IS).

Experts writing in the magazine will offer a counter-narrative to the radical rhetoric of IS and other groups. They will provide clear explanations of verses of the Qu'ran that have been used by extremists to persuade youngsters from across Europe and the Islamic world to leave their homes to fight.

"We're turning the tide," said Shaukat Warraich, the chief editor of Imams Online. "Though we still have a way to go, we know that by taking efforts to support and mobilise the huge online Muslim population, we will eventually drown out the violent voices."

Terrorist wannabe guilty of grooming

NEWHAM RESIDENT Kazi Islam, 18, has been convicted and sentenced to eight years in a young offenders' institution for grooming a vulnerable youngster after taking deadly inspiration from the brutal murder of Fusilier Lee Rigby in Woolwich.

Islam had attempted to persuade Harry Thomas to purchase materials to build a pipe bomb and also used a mixture of "flattery and threats" to convince him to murder two members of the armed forces.

The Old Bailey heard how he befriended Thomas, who has Asperger's Syndrome, after meeting him on a college IT course in 2013.

Islam tried to encourage him to kill a soldier by telling him British

soldiers were murdering innocent children.

He also claimed he persuaded Thomas to collect the bomb-making materials merely as an experiment in radicalisation and had no intention of manufacturing an explosive device.

The plan fell apart after anti-terrorist police raided Islam's Newham home and seized his computer and mobile phones.

Islam had been told earlier by Judge Richard Marks that a prison sentence was inevitable.

The would-be Newham terrorist had previously met with the banned extremist group al-Muhajiroun as well as viewing and downloading extremist material online.

Nigerian gay rights activist offers free hugs in thanet

BISI ALIMI, a Nigerian immigrant gay rights activist who is also HIV positive, took to the streets of South Thanet at election time to urge voters not to support Nigel Farage and UKIP.

Alimi, who set up an anti-UKIP stall offering free hugs to anyone who wanted to listen to his message and ask him a question, travelled to Ramsgate to campaign after UKIP leader Nigel Farage blamed HIV positive immigrants for placing huge strains on the NHS.

The activist, who held up a poster that

read: "I'm an immigrant. Hug me or ask me a question?" was diagnosed with HIV in 2004 but was unable to access treatment in his native Nigeria for fear of being exposed as a homosexual. He fled his country for the UK in 2007 when an attempt was made on his life.

Alimi said "When I came to this country in 2007, I was running away from being killed. I love my country and I want to make change at home, but there was an attempt on my life. I thought if I'm going to stay alive I've got to leave my country".





BNP fake vicar banned from teaching for life

A BNP parliamentary candidate has been banned from teaching for life after telling pupils that Muslims worship the devil.

The "Reverend" Robert West (pictured), who represented the BNP in the Boston & Skegness constituency, told pupils at a Walton Girls' High School in Grantham, Lincolnshire, that he was "allergic to Mohammedans" during history lessons held in 2013. When asked by one pupil whether there was anything wrong with being a Muslim, he said: "Yes, because we are fighting them".

West, a fake vicar, set up his own church in his house in Holbeach and has no connection with the Church of England. After a number of pupils complained, The National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL) decided to take action against him.

The NCTL said it was satisfied that West's conduct fell well short of standards expected of him and found him guilty of unacceptable professional conduct.

In an e-mail to the headmaster, West wrote: "It is about time that you put the (sic) teacher back in charge I am not going to programme my students with utter trash about Mohammedanism – a religion whose textbook, the Koran, has been burnt for atrocities against humanity."

UKIP parliamentary candidate defects to the BNP



Jack Sen (right) with BNP leader Adam Walker (left)

DISGRACED UKIP parliamentary candidate Jack Sen has turned his back on the party and publicly defected to the far right extremist British National Party (BNP).

Sen, UKIP's candidate for West Lancashire, received more than 6,000 votes in the May General Election but was suspended from the party a week before the election for posting antisemitic slurs on social media. He has now defected to the BNP, announcing that he will begin working as its North West press officer.

He also disclosed his deep admiration for Oswald Mosley and Enoch Powell and admitted he agreed with some parts of National

Socialism. He said: "Am I a Nazi? Absolutely not. Do I believe National Socialism has done good things? It has got some things right. But I don't walk around saluting Hitler. A national socialist in his purest form wants to protect his country and loves his country."

Describing his support for the BNP, Sen wrote rather incoherently: "I would say to be honest the BNP goes in the right direction. It's the only nationalist party. The BNP would be the one party".

Sen also spoke at a recent meeting of the fascist London Forum where he claimed UKIP had been hijacked by "Jewish interest groups".

Worthing swastika rumpus

POLICE WERE called to a house in Worthing, Sussex, after neighbours complained a swastika flag was being flown from the property. A woman at the house told the local paper it was being used for a photo shoot but refused to go into further details when pressed.

The woman, in her fifties, denied she was a Nazi sympathiser, saying "The police came round and spoke to me but I'm not in trouble because I've done nothing wrong – it's only a flag and it's not illegal. People can put whatever flags they want up."

Neighbours, though, were shocked and offended by the flag. Janet Goldsbrough-Jones, chair of the Royal British Legion's Worthing branch, said: "It's not the flag itself that causes offence but the effect it has on some people.

It is a strange thing to do. People are thinking more and more about the war at the moment for obvious reasons so despite whatever reason it was up for, it does seem a thoughtless thing to do."

Worthing used to be the headquarters of the National Front and is home to a number of aged Nazi sympathisers.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/ scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: Lennon plots his return page 32

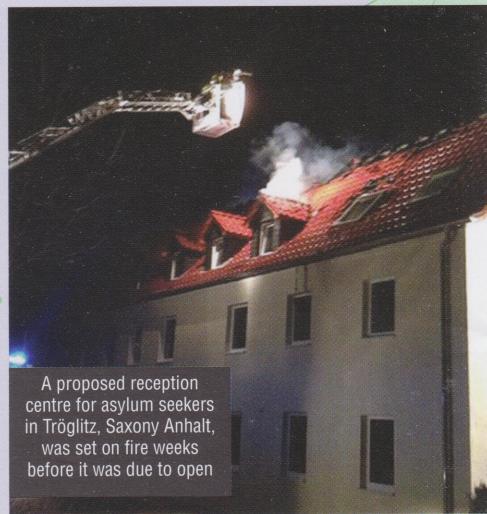


GERMANY | Nazi terror escalates

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN IN BERLIN

RECENT MONTHS have seen a dramatic escalation of violence against refugees and migrants throughout Germany. In several areas, houses in which refugees from war torn areas like Iraq and Syria were supposed to find shelter have been firebombed. In the small town of Eschberg (Schleswig-Holstein), a family man living close to a building in which young Iraqis were due to be housed set fire to it. Tröglitz, a village in Saxony-Anhalt, which has attracted international opprobrium as a focal point of fascist-led rallies against asylum-seekers, has also been hit hard by nazi terror tactics.

First, the village mayor resigned because he felt threatened and had little public support and then the proposed refugee centre was firebombed. Now, the conservative leader of the district council is receiving death threats along with other politicians, clergymen, journalists and anti-fascist activists who are in support of a humanitarian approach to refugees or are fighting nazism and racism. Worse, the number of those sending out threats to life and limb under their full name has also significantly grown. Part of the explanation for this is the rash of PEGIDA rallies in recent months that have given German racism an extra big mouth.



BELGIUM | De Wever causes uproar

FROM WIM HAELESTERMAN FOR AFF/VERZET-RÉSISTANCES

RECENT STATEMENTS by Bart De Wever, chairman of the Flemish nationalist New Flemish Alliance (N-VA) and mayor of Antwerp, on migration and integration have caused outrage in the media, the political world and on the streets of Antwerp.

In a TV interview, the head of Flanders' biggest party declared the integration policy of the Belgian government as nothing more than "one big failure". He also stated that racism is "relative" and was all too often abused "to justify personal failures". In a single sweep, he also blamed certain immigrant communities for creating "closed communities" that distrust the government.

De Wever focused his displeasure with immigrant communities on Antwerp's Berber community. "I never met an Asian who complains about racism," he claimed. A majority of immigrants from Morocco is of Berber origin. The Berber community in Antwerp, as elsewhere in Belgium, struggles with higher unemployment rates, poverty and experiences social exclusion more than any other immigrant community.

The political world, and even his own coalition partners, quickly blasted De Wever's statements as stigmatising, unwise, unnecessary and hurtful. The left-wing opposition compared the "derogatory statements of De Wever" to the hate speeches of the far right Vlaams Belang.



Bart De Wever, chairman of the Flemish nationalist New Flemish Alliance
Photo: David Cumps

SPAIN | Failed nazi candidate held for weapons sales to jihadist terror cell

FROM SANDRA CORTÉS FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG IN VALÈNCIA

POLICE IN Catalonia arrested 11 people linked to a jihadist terror cell on 8 April.

According to investigators, they were plotting to attack several public buildings and Jewish businesses and kidnap the director of a bank branch. Among those arrested was former fascist Republican Social Movement (MSR) candidate Diego José Frías Alvarez, accused of selling weapons to the terrorists for an attack on the Jewish bookstore, La Pedra, in Barcelona. The trial judge ordered Alvarez to be detained to await trial for collaboration with the Islamic Brotherhood terrorist group and for possession and storage of arms and explosives.

According to police, he was easily able to get such materials and, in a search of his home in Sant Quirze del Vallés (Barcelona), they found a grenade, a pistol, a shotgun and other weapons. The MSR, which campaigns "against the Islamisation of Europe" and is part the European fascist coalition, the AENM, claimed Alvarez no longer belongs to the party.

Several other law and order fans in the MSR were convicted of belonging to the outlawed criminal organisation Blood&Honour in 2010.



Diego José Frías Alvarez being arrested



AUSTRIA | Mixed results for far right

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN VIENNA

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS in four federal states highlight mixed results for Austria's far right Freedom Party (FPÖ) as it gears up for an important election year ahead.

In Carinthia, its former regional stronghold, the FPÖ lost almost half of its support and landed in third place behind the Social Democrats (SPÖ) and the conservative People's Party (ÖVP). Above all, this slump came in wake of the Hypo-Alpe-Adria Bank collapse that has brought Carinthia to the brink of default due to state liabilities of €20 billion, now reduced to €10 billion EUR by taxpayer bailouts since 2009.

The debts were incurred in the region's



name by its late long-time governor and former FPÖ leader, Jörg Haider, and his companions. Meanwhile, in Styria, the FPÖ celebrated its best ever result by doubling its seats.

The main themes of its election campaign were "mass immigration", "Islamisation" and the effects of the merging of municipalities conducted by the federal government (SPÖ and ÖVP). In municipal elections in Vorarlberg (14%) and Lower Austria (7%) the FPÖ could claim slight gains in its votes, but remain in second and third place respectively.

However, this was only the start to more important election campaigns in Burgenland, Styria, Upper Austria and Vienna later this year.

THE NETHERLANDS | Freedom Party loses again

FROM JEROEN BOSCH FOR ALERT! IN AMSTERDAM

SINCE 2011, no fewer than 38 of the 69 elected members for Geert Wilders' right-wing populist Freedom Party (PVV) have left the regional parliaments of the Dutch Provincial States.

Despite Wilders' party heading the polls for the elections held on 18 March, flagging up a battle between the Freedom Party and the Liberal Democrats of D'66, the latter emerged fourth and the PVV fifth, losing three seats. It also lost a seat in the Senate.

Wilders blamed the low turnout

for his latest losses, but in Rotterdam where the turnout was very low (35%), the PVV got the most votes. He has now announced that he will be contesting the next council elections in Rotterdam, breaking the pact with the late Pim Fortuyn's Leefbaar Rotterdam not to enter the political arena there.

The reality is that the Freedom Party has lost in every election since 2011. Now, a new rightist rival could pop up if Wilders' former lawyer, Bram Moszkowicz, joins the ranks of PVV dissidents in parliament.

SERBIA | PM Vucic's son – nazi activist

BY BRKO SERDAR IN NOVI SAD

FORMER ULTRA-nationalist radical, now turned neo-liberal pro-EU prime minister of Serbia, Aleksandar Vucic, has gone undergone a long political trajectory.

Recent months, however, have seen persistent rumours surrounding his 17-year old-son Danilo, accusing him of violent behaviour and involvement in fascist activities.

PM Vucic himself was no stranger to extremist action in his youth, beginning his political career on the terraces of FC Crvena Zvezda and being recruited by, and recruiting for, the far right Serbian Radical Party (SRS).

After his split from the SRS and its leader Vojislav Šešelj – later tried in The Hague for war crimes – he chose

a new political approach leading him to become the most powerful man in today's Serbia but also marking him as a traitor to his ex-comrades on the extreme right.

Danilo, however, who has already been active in street-level extreme rightist movements such as the pro-Russian SNP Naši and 1389, has drifted still further to the nazi right.

Vucic Jnr. has posted photos on his Facebook profile showing himself wearing the T-shirt of Serbia's most violent and most fascist hooligan group Odred 18 (Squad 18) with nazi supporters of FC Rad who have strong ties to Blood&Honour/Combat 18 terrorists. He is also active in campaigns that incite violence and threats to public figures.

HUNGARY | Jobbik wins key by-election

FROM ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

VOTERS IN the western Hungarian Tapolca constituency have elected far right Jobbik candidate Lajos Rig despite his earlier racist statements and support for anti-Jewish conspiracy theories. The results show that Rig scored 35.49% of the vote ahead of ruling conservative Fidesz candidate Zoltán Fenyvesi with 34.27%. Left candidate, Ferenc Pad, finished in third place with 26.%.

After the election, Jobbik's leader Gabor Vona rushed to hail Rig's victory as being of "historic importance."

According to Vona, the Tapolca result demonstrates that Jobbik is now able to replace the ruling Fidesz government and will be its main challenger in the future. Vona,

who appears determined to soften Jobbik's extremist image, promised to eliminate "political excesses", insisting that his party does not have a programme that discriminates people on the basis of ethnicity or religion.

It is worth noting that the party continues a dual communication in a bid to keep a sizeable chunk of its radical wing. The appearance of the nazi Hungarian Dawn shows that there is room for a policy of right wing extremism even beyond Jobbik, which is making efforts to maintain its compatibility with Hungarian Dawn via the Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement and the Betyarsereg (Outlaw's Army).

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■ Feature: FN makes big poll gains page 42



MONGOLIA | Nazis attack Chinese tourists

AN ATTACK on Chinese tourists in Mongolia by the nazi Khukh Mongol (Blue Mongolia) group turned into an international issue after pictures and video of the assault spread on the internet.

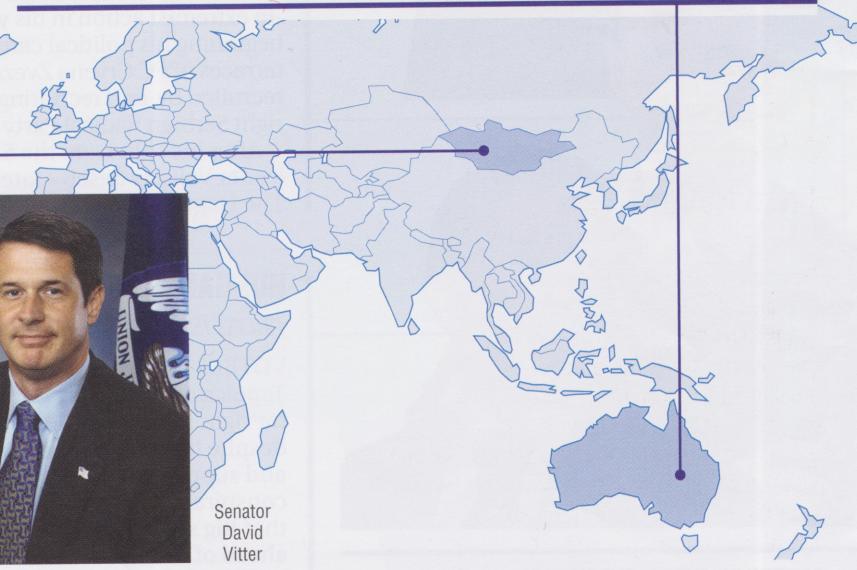
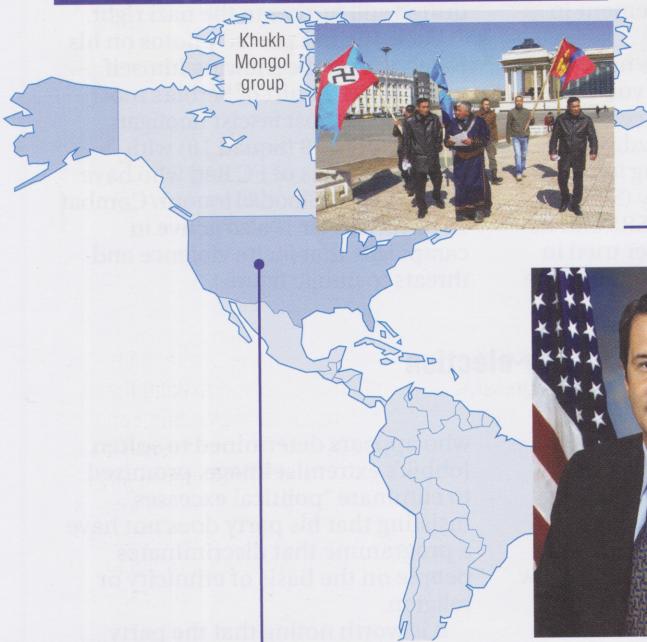
Several nazi groups have formed in Mongolia recently, advocating ultranationalism and expressing anti-foreigner sentiments.

The Chinese tourists were visiting Burkhan Khaldun mountain in eastern Mongolia when the nazis attacked, taunting them and forcing one to kneel. The tourists returned to China without reporting the incident to police or the Chinese Embassy but, once the images and videos made it online, Mongolian society and media reacted strongly.

Erdene Bat-Uul, the mayor of Mongolia's capital, Ulan Bator, officially apologised for the assault, pledging to hold the perpetrators to account.

"I officially apologize to the Chinese citizens for the immoral behaviour [of the extremists]," Bat-Uul said. The mayor said he felt ashamed that what had happened had been a violation of Mongolia's constitution and criminal law.

Mongolian President Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj said that extreme nationalism is harmful and Mongolia should be a responsible, friendly, and open country. The Chinese Embassy in Mongolia has demanded more protection for Chinese citizens in the country and a safe work and living environment for them.



USA | Right sustains targeting of immigrant communities

By Center for New Community in Chicago

LAST NOVEMBER'S elections saw Republicans gain control of both chambers of Congress. Since then, right-wing lawmakers have steadfastly refused to address the US' broken immigration system.

Instead, they are working feverishly to stop President Obama's efforts – known officially as an "executive action" – to temporarily protect some undocumented immigrants from deportation. Republicans have even twice threatened to "defund" the Department of Homeland Security,

possibly exposing the country to terrorist attacks and laying off over 200,000 employees.

Such blatant obstruction has become standard practice in Congress. And the lawmakers driving it have enlisted the assistance of the country's leading anti-immigrant organisations to justify their practices. In February, several representatives of these organisations, such as the Center for Immigration Studies, testified before important Congressional committees. These testimonies further emboldened anti-

immigrant lawmakers to introduce legislation targeting immigrant communities.

The most audacious proposal was, perhaps, Senator David Vitter's effort to revoke the rights enshrined in the U.S. Constitution's 14th Amendment that affirms citizenship for anyone born on U.S. soil. In this political climate, meaningful immigration reform is impossible but pro-immigrant advocates will continue fighting bigoted politicians and organisations that marginalise the vulnerable.

AUSTRALIA | Racists take to streets Down Under

ANTI-ISLAM AND anti-racist campaigners clashed at demonstrations across Australia in April, the worst incidents occurring in Hobart (Tasmania) and Melbourne (Victoria). There were also minor incidents in Brisbane and Sydney as the "Reclaim Australia" group held rallies as part of "Reclaim Australia Day". "Reclaim Australia" focuses on a bizarre and inaccurate belief that Australia is on the verge of "Sharia law, halal tax and Islamisation." The controversial former extremist One Nation MP Pauline Hanson, denying she is a racist, addressed a rally in Brisbane.

Anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia has increased since the siege at a coffee shop in Sydney last December when a man demanding an ISIS flag took hostages in the shop, resulting in three deaths. Prior to the rallies in April, there were anti-Muslim disturbances in Cronulla, New South Wales, in 2005 and, in 2012, there were minor clashes between Muslim youths and gangs of far right hooligans in Sydney.

In Melbourne, Australia's most multicultural city, there was a distinct nazi flavour to the anti-Islam protestors who were met with opposition that bought the centre of Australia's second largest city to a standstill as police lost control of the situation.

Guest column...

An open letter from a volunteer



From Robin Samson

Dear HOPE not hate organisers,
I have volunteered with HOPE not hate a handful of times over the past five years. It's always an encouraging experience. You warmly welcome me and I feel valued for however little I can do. You listen respectfully and share your thoughts but don't argue or talk at me. As we work I get to know people and begin the kinds of relationships that real solidarity is made of. You care and think about people, and set a tone of positivity, celebration – dare I say – love?

I was a 'red-nappy baby': my dad worked full-time for the South Essex District of the Communist Party (CP) during the 1960s and 70s. So volunteering in Barking & Dagenham, Tilbury and Grays has personal meaning for me. He was a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany who became politicised after arriving here. That heritage and my experience

as a gay man who grew up in the 1950s and 60s, combined to help fuel my commitment to having a world where hatred and fear didn't kill people or crush their spirits.

A major principle I learned from my dad (and central to CP practice from its inception in the 1920s) is that you work with people where they are, getting involved in the struggles that face them daily, towards everyone finding their voice and their power to change things.

In the optimism and openness of the 1970s, and into the challenges of the 80s – with 2nd-wave feminism, gay liberation, the broad left coalition, the Anti-Nazi League, the peace/anti-nuclear movement – we learned 'the personal is political', about alliance building, festive/celebratory campaigning, and non-violent direct action.

Thatcher's radical, authoritarian

new right dealt a massive blow to the Labour and progressive movements during the 1980s and 90s, while the Communist project collapsed. Many of us (Communist or not) were left deeply discouraged. Some of us have taken, are still taking, a long time to recover.

For me, HOPE not hate brings hope in a very practical way that invites me to contribute. You inherit the spirit of the movements I knew. You stand on their shoulders and can learn from us; you bring fresh ideas and have things to teach us.

The overall election result threatened to overwhelm us, but UKIP's failure was an antidote: you (and we) can be proud of what HOPE not hate helped to achieve. Personally, my little bit of activity with you in Thurrock has helped me not feel paralysed. Meeting new people, feeling part of something important;

having the conversations on the doorstep and making the difference in getting someone out to vote; having a sense, as a white person, of being an ally in a concrete way and seeing a spark of hope in the face of someone who is hammered, every day, by racism; all these and more have left me encouraged, not depressed.

I've realised again that building community – friendship, closeness, dependability, real on-the-ground solidarity – is what's going to matter.

Given my background, taking up this opportunity to get active is a homecoming. HOPE not hate looks set to become one of several 'homes' for me, and I think it can be a 'home' for anyone who wants it.

Thank you for building somewhere I can come home to.

Yours in love and comradeship

The forward march of for the moment

Nick Lowles assesses UKIP's performance in the 2015 General Elections

UKIP went into the 2015 General Election believing its moment had come. It confidently expected to win several seats in Parliament and, it privately hoped, would hold the balance of power afterwards.

So sure was UKIP leader Nigel Farage of winning, that the failure to win the South Thanet seat would be such a defeat he would have to resign as leader.

Nothing went quite as planned. UKIP only held on to one of the two seats it was defending and failed to win any others. Worse still, the Conservatives defied expectations and were able to form a government without the help of minor parties.

A furious Farage was left with little option but to offer the party his resignation though, of course, he had no intention of seeing it accepted. Within hours of telling the press he would honour his word, he and his close supporters were lobbying the party's executive to ensure his resignation was rejected.

There were three principal reasons for UKIP's failure to gain more MPs: UKIP itself, the opposition to it and English nationalism.

UKIP followed a strategy which it defined as "shock and awe" whereby it was deliberately provocative and hardline in order to generate headlines and appeal to its core following.

The strategy was most evidently used during the leaders' debate when Farage spoke out against overseas HIV sufferers accessing the NHS.

"It was a core vote message. It wasn't to reach out to floating voters. We need to mobilise our base and that's what he did," one senior source told the *Daily Telegraph*.

The newspaper went on to claim that this issue was chosen precisely because it would generate such a reaction: "A UKIP source said Mr Farage had originally intended to warn of the comparatively high proportion of migrants with tuberculosis 'but then we realised that HIV drugs are more expensive'."

In South Thanet, Farage also used this shock and awe strategy when he accused his Labour opponent of being "anti-white" in a newspaper wrap the party bought.

Farage was responding to an interview Will Scobie, the Labour candidate, had given to the *Guardian* to hit back at local gossip suggesting eastern Europeans caused a public disturbance.

Living on the estate where the incident took place, Scobie said that he understood that the perpetrators were locals. This proved enough for Farage to use the incident and play the race card without providing any evidence whatsoever that Scobie's account was wrong.

Not everyone in UKIP was impressed with the strategy and for some 'shock and awe' was more 'shock and awful'. Among them was UKIP MP Douglas Carswell.

Speaking to BBC's *Pienaar's Politics*, he said: "I think some of the tone we deployed, for example, the comments about HIV, were plain wrong. Wrong on so many levels. Not just wrong because they were electorally unhelpful, but wrong because they were wrong."

But the UKIP campaign was also tactically wrong. Despite the much vaunted modern political machine that some commentators have been telling us about for the past 12 months, the UKIP



UKIP halted...



Friends disunited: the election campaign exposed the differences between Nigel Farage and Douglas Carswell

UKIP heat map

UKIP's 2015 results, by constituency

KEY

0-4.9 (77)	5-9.9 (92)
10-14.9 (201)	15-19.9 (185)
20-24.9 (53)	25-29.9 (8)
30+ (8)	

NEW UKIP
COUNCILLORS
PER REGION



campaign on the ground was shambolic, disorganised and, in some cases, largely non-existent.

UKIP might well have won two parliamentary by-elections last autumn using modern election techniques but it was unable to replicate it on the scale or intensity required in a general election.

One of those trumpeting UKIP's supposedly increased sophistication was Nottingham academic Matthew Goodwin, who co-authored *Revolt on the Right* and is currently writing a book about UKIP's general election campaign.

"This is a party that has learned from the by-elections in the autumn," he told the *Daily Telegraph* in early March. "The same person who ran the those by-elections in Clacton and Rochester and Strood – which everyone said UKIP could not win – is running the general election and targeted seat campaign."

Goodwin even predicted that UKIP had four seats "in the bag", including South Thanet, where Farage was running a sophisticated, under the radar, grassroots campaign. He went on to claim that Farage would win by more than many people expected and, in another article, even claimed that the campaign would go down in election history.

Nationally, and in South Thanet, this proved not to be the case and it was evident that UKIP was incapable of running several campaigns simultaneously across the country.

Even in some of its key target seats, the UKIP campaign shared more similarities with a BNP campaign – though on a bigger scale – than a modern targeted campaign. There were lorries, vans and cars driving around emblazoned in UKIP colours and slogans. There were billboards and adverts in the local newspapers. There were town centre stalls and the obligatory public meeting when Farage was in town.

But there was not the type of campaigning we come to expect from modern political parties. There was very little Voter ID and canvassing taking place and even very little targeting with leaflets.

It was loud and visual and while that creates a stir it is not always the best way to win elections.

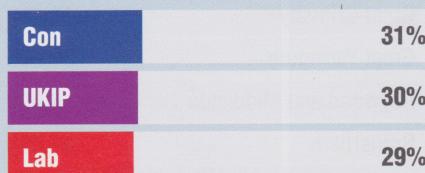
The lack of targeting meant that in Dudley North UKIP totally ignored the parts of the constituency where the potential support for it was highest, preferring to concentrate in the more affluent Conservative areas. As a result, it lost support as the campaign went on.

The party's lack of capacity was also a key issue. Despite boasting over 40,000 members, the party lacked activists where it most needed them. Outside South Thanet, and possibly Thurrock, most UKIP activities rarely attracted

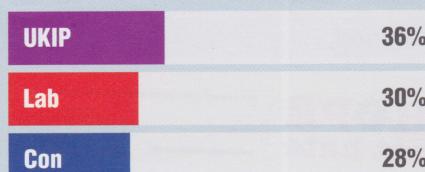
HnH key constituencies

Opinion polls

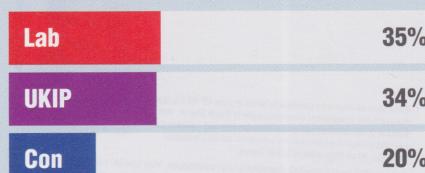
THANET SOUTH



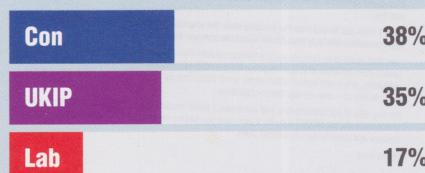
THURROCK



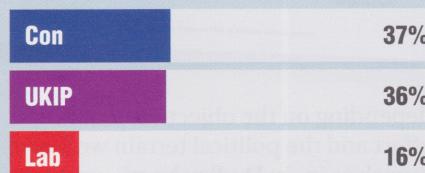
GREAT GRIMSBY



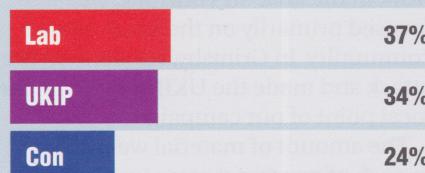
BOSTON & SKEGNESS



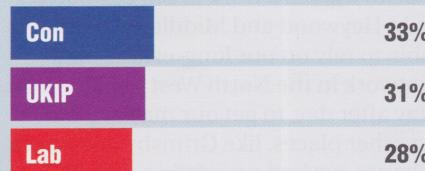
CASTLE POINT



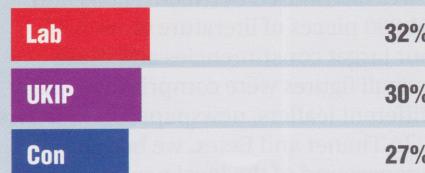
DUDLEY NORTH



GREAT YARMOUTH

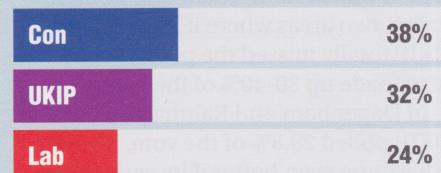


CANNOCK CHASE

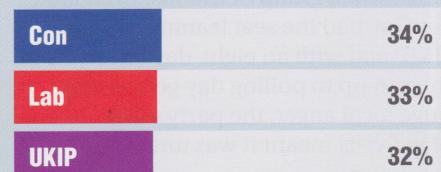


Actual Results

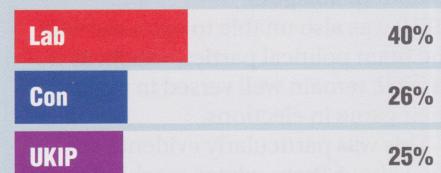
THANET SOUTH



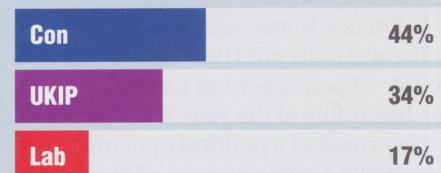
THURROCK



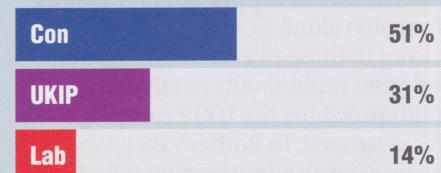
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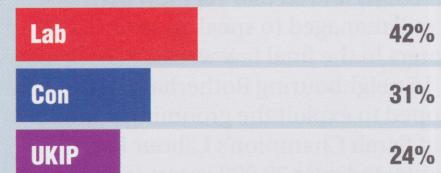
BOSTON & SKEGNESS



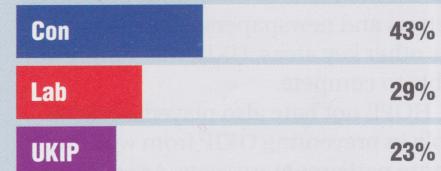
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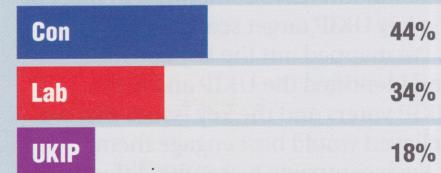
DUDLEY NORTH



GREAT YARMOUTH



CANNOCK CHASE



double figures and, in many of its key targets, the party was, ironically, reliant on hiring gangs of Eastern European workers to distribute its material.

This lack of planning and activism meant that in Rotherham and Rother Valley, two areas where it had high hopes, UKIP totally missed the postal voters who made up 30-40% of the voters.

In Dagenham and Rainham, where UKIP polled 29.8% of the vote, it could have done even better if its campaign had been more than just the candidate and a small group of friends. Even after YouGov had the seat leaning towards UKIP and with an eight-day bin strike in the run up to polling day generating huge local anger, the party's lack of activists meant it was unable to capitalise.

Unable to compete

UKIP was also unable to compete with the main political parties, which, as it proved, remain well versed in upping their game in elections.

This was particularly evident with the Labour Party, whose machine and activist base swamped UKIP's in all the key battlegrounds.

In Dudley North, where Lord Ashcroft's polls put UKIP only a couple of points behind Labour at the beginning of the year, UKIP faced a juggernaut of a political operation, which saw a million pieces of literature distributed in the year up to polling, with 250,000 being put out in the short campaign alone.

Even in those places where Labour had been traditionally passive, like south Yorkshire, the UKIP campaign was swamped. In Rother Valley, where the local party admitted that it had not campaigned in previous general elections and so had very few activists, it still managed to speak to over 12,000 voters in the final few weeks.

In neighbouring Rotherham, UKIP had hoped to exploit the grooming scandal but Sarah Champion's Labour Party contacted over 20,000 voters in the final couple of months of the campaign and distributed tens of thousands of leaflets, letters and newspapers. Like in many of its other key areas, UKIP was simply not able to compete.

HOPE not hate also played a crucial role in preventing UKIP from winning more parliamentary seats. As outlined elsewhere in the magazine, HOPE not hate ran intensive campaigns in most of the key UKIP target seats.

We mapped out the key constituencies and identified the UKIP and anti-UKIP voters and the key issues that we believed would best engage them.

Each campaign was quite different

Amount of material HOPE not hate put out in the key constituencies:

Dagenham and Rainham	12,000
Dudley North	64,000
Great Grimsby	41,000
Great Yarmouth	38,000
Heywood and Middleton	55,000
Rotherham	61,000
Rother Valley	24,000
South Thanet	42,000
Thurrock	44,000



depending on the objective of our effort and the political terrain we found ourselves in. In Dudley North, we built on our previous extensive community work in the area. In Thurrock, we focused primarily on the black African community. In Grimsby, we went on the attack and made the UKIP candidate the focal point of our campaign.

The amount of material we put out in each of our target areas was quite extraordinary and only made possible due to the hard work of our supporters.

In Heywood and Middleton, we were able to rely on our long-established network in the North West to come out, day after day, to get our material out. In other places, like Grimsby and South Thanet, we had no existing networks and had to start from scratch.

We distributed between 34,000 and 64,000 pieces of literature in each of our target constituencies and these overall figures were comprised of many different leaflets, newspapers and letters.

In Thanet and Essex, we bought the wraparound of the local newspaper. We

had hoped to also get a wrap in the local paper in Great Yarmouth but the direct intervention of the Archant Press' bosses put an end to that.

We produced tens of thousands of copies of a booklet specifically for women voters and these were individually addressed, along with a covering letter from a local woman, to women in our key constituencies.

We distributed over 32,000 personalised letters and leaflets to Black and Minority Ethnic voters in our key wards in the last ten days of the campaign. We also put out 15,000 copies of a letter written by the outgoing Conservative MP, Laura Sandys, to women voters in South Thanet, which had an amazing impact, if the feedback we got on the doorstep was anything to go by.

And unlike UKIP, we were able to react to events. When YouGov installed UKIP as slim favourites in late April, we were able to produce and distribute 11,000 direct mail letters within a few days.

While much media attention was focused on Farage losing in South Thanet, my own personal high point was keeping UKIP out in Thurrock, which was totally unexpected. Opinion polls had consistently put UKIP ahead, including a Lord Ashcroft poll conducted just a week before polling.

We reacted to this by putting out about 20,000 leaflets and direct mail letters in the constituency in the last seven days alone. On Election Day, we had over 40 people out in Thurrock knocking up 3,000 BME households.

An English backlash

The third reason UKIP fell short was because of English nationalism. While UKIP had long been the beneficiaries of this, the Conservative Party very successfully created such a fear of a Labour/Scottish National Party (SNP) government that many Tory-inclined UKIP voters returned to the fold because of what they perceived to be a greater threat.

With the prospect of an aggressively "anti-English" SNP calling the shots in a weak Miliband government, there was a greater call on their vote. And it was this movement that largely explained the late and undetected shift to the Tories and UKIP's being derailed.

The results, when they came, were a surprise to everyone. No one expected Douglas Carswell to lose his seat but Tim Aker finishing third in Thurrock was a massive surprise.

UKIP fell short in its other key seats as well, lagging a long way behind in many. In Great Grimsby, Heywood & Middleton and Dudley North the pollsters had put UKIP virtually neck and neck with

How Thurrock chose HOPE against the odds

By Elisabeth Pop



SELENA LIVES in Chafford Hundred. In fact, she has lived in Thurrock her whole adult life and both her children were born here. But Selena herself was born in Nigeria.

I met her on Election Day. HOPE not hate had been organising in Thurrock for almost a year, but Selena was the one who made a lasting impression on me. Maybe it was the hug she gave me after having canvassed for 10 hours and a month in which I only had 2 days off or, maybe, the fact that she kept every single leaflet we put through her door and wanted me to take her picture holding them.

Selena told me she used the information from our anti-UKIP literature to open the hearts and minds of her immediate neighbours and her Black African church family. She felt she had to because, in the last two years, her Thurrock had turned angry, divisive, intolerant and into an easy win for UKIP. That was not the sort of community she wanted her daughter and son to grow up in.

As I took her picture, Selena said she wanted people to know that "#UKIP won't divide my Thurrock community. I voted HOPE. Please do the same!"

And Vote for HOPE they did. At 4.30am on 8 May, the result came in and it was a victory for HOPE, for Thurrock, against the odds. In January, Tim Aker

was 7 points ahead in the polls but by April his lead came down to 4% and on election night he finished THIRD!

I could have started by listing the figures behind the campaign: 10,000 NHS leaflets, 5,000 Fat Cat leaflets, 15,000 women's booklets, 5,000 BAME letters, 5,000 eve of-poll voter ID postcards, almost every single door in four wards visited at least twice and 50 volunteers getting out the anti-UKIP vote on Election Day.

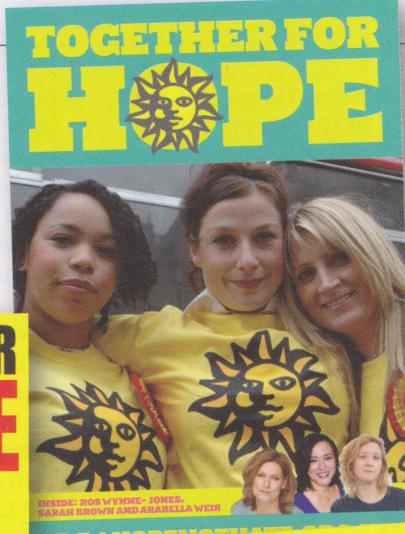
Instead, I thought you should hear the voices and stories that inspire and empower us all. Like Selena, for instance – or the single mother who told me that she identifies as being English but that does not mean she is anti-immigration – or the dozens who praised our NHS leaflet or the Makepeace family from Grays who, after reading our Fat Cat leaflet, realised UKIP is not the party of the vulnerable nor the poor.

For experienced Hnh campaigner and trade union organiser, Jean Geldart, who was with me every day for the last month of the campaign, it was "a demonstration that if you have a plan and commitment, you can move mountains!"

I hope you will join us in keeping communities together in Thurrock, especially now UKIP has 13 councillors there. If you want to help us, please get in touch at owen@opennothate.org.uk.

VOTE FOR HOPE

Tomorrow is your opportunity to replace fear with HOPE. For the sake of our families and community let's ensure

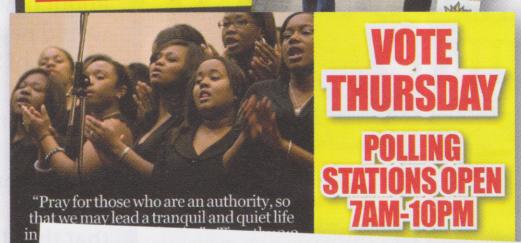


HOPEX
Polls are open until 10pm tonight

SEVEN REASONS WHY UKIP WOULD BE A DISASTER

- 1 UKIP want a 5 year ban on newly arrived immigrants attending state schools.
- 2 UKIP believe that immigrants should not have access to hospitals and public health care.
- 3 Scrapping race and equality laws which stop people discriminating against others because of the colour of their skin.
- 4 Leading UKIP members want immigrants to return to their country of origin.
- 5 UKIP want to privatise NHS and replace our free health service with a private one.

CHOOSE HOPE OVER FEAR ON 7 MAY



"Pray for those who are an authority, so that we may lead a tranquil and quiet life in

THURROCK

Enquirer Your Independent voice

NHS under threat from UKIP

Secret UKIP documents reveal desire to privatise the NHS

NHS

UKIP CLAIMS to support the NHS and has even publicly condemned its spending more, but the party's leadership are still in favour of privatising the NHS. The current health secretary, Jeremy Hunt, NHS is a recent recruit to the UKIP executive committee, where he was a member of the hard line before he voted in May.

Turnover for the full story

HOPE not hate

Choose HOPE not fear in Thurrock

Those who shout loudest

"I'm **#NotVotingUKIP**
because I'm choosing HOPE
over fear this Thursday"

BE PART OF THE THUNDERCLAP

We're causing quite
a storm, join us at

<http://thndr.it/1JyA8Uk>

AS ANY OF YOU who use social media or follow our Twitter or Facebook accounts know, HOPE not hate launched the largest ever 'Thunderclap' of the recent election.

Thunderclap is a new social media platform that allows you to pledge a single Tweet or Facebook message (or Tumblr blog post) that is concentrated and unleashed at the exact same moment.

Using Thunderclap, if enough people sign up you can send out a single message to potentially millions of people: which is exactly what we did.

In fact, we defeated two rival efforts set up by UKIP and beat all the other political parties in terms of our impact. Over 6.55 million people got to see our **#NotVotingUKIP** message at 5.30pm on 5th May, two days before voting:

"I'm **#NotVotingUKIP** because I'm choosing HOPE over fear this Thursday
#hopenothate #GE2015"

The message then linked back to a special action page on the HOPE not hate website.

We are confident it had an impact on the final outcome on polling day, helping leave UKIP with just one MP (one less than it had before the election), not bad considering we only came up with the idea on 14th April!

By the time we launched and then promoted our message to all the supporters on our e-mail list and social media platforms, UKIP had cheekily launched its own Thunderclap in response – to go live 5 minutes after ours.

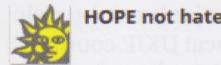
Yet with our target of 500 users soon



#NotVotingUKIP

"I'm **#NotVotingUKIP** because I'm choosing HOPE over fear this Thursday
#hopenothate #GE2015"

Goal: 500 supporters by May 5th



1,160%
supported

6,552,008
social reach

exceeded, UKIP began to panic, altering its own target downwards from 500 users to just 100, thus giving a false impression of just how 'well' its sign-up was going.

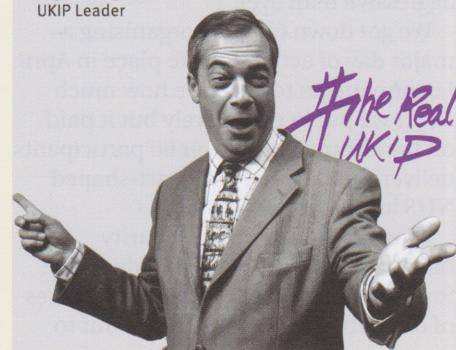
Even that wasn't enough: we surged through to top place on Thunderclap's trending list and when we went 'live', the hashtag **#NotVotingUKIP** quickly went viral.

NotVotingUKIP shot to the number one trending slot on Twitter UK and briefly hit number 4 on Twitter worldwide! Not a bad achievement, considering our limited resources.

UKIP briefly launched a second

*Breastfeeding mothers
should "sit in the corner"
and not be "ostentatious"*

Nigel Farage MEP
UKIP Leader



**Visit The Real UKIP
on tumblr: <http://realukip.tumblr.com>**

Thunderclap for polling day itself, but this disappeared in the morass of mockery on Twitter, with a new **#WhyImVotingUKIP** hashtag beginning to trend, parodying the many faux pas made by UKIP candidates.

We are still developing and expanding our digital resources (and seeking to fund them). Alongside our RealUKIP Tumblr, the newly digitised HOPE not hate magazine and our growing social media presence, we are sure you will be seeing more and more from HOPE not hate digital in the coming months.

Great Yarmouth: More than just a slap in the face

David Braniff-Herbert reports

BEFORE THE ELECTION, UKIP was riding high in Great Yarmouth. Just last year, the party won 10 out of the 13 seats contested on the borough council and, the year before, it had brought in 14 new county councillors across Norfolk. Meanwhile, in the 2014 European elections, it polled over 45% in the borough. Coming into this election campaign, we thought that UKIP could win overall control of the borough council.

When I got to Yarmouth, I met with local people to learn more about the situation. It was only when I met with a few migrant workers that I began to understand the devastating impact UKIP was having on community relations. There was talk about how some people had become 'nasty to anyone with an accent or [who was] non-white'. A local business owner told me that people felt racism was on the rise and it was more aggressive than ever.

We got down to work, organising a major day of action to take place in April. I cannot begin to describe how much effort we put in collectively but it paid off handsomely with over 60 participants delivering 11,000 of our heart-shaped NHS leaflets into key wards.

After giving countless security briefings to volunteers, I suddenly found UKIP councillors taking pictures of our activists outside. I went out to

ask them what they were doing and they laughed at me. When I turned my camera on *them*, they became instantly aggressive, calling me names and even threatening me.

A volunteer then rushed over to tell me that a UKIP supporter had entered our hall – I felt the blood drain from my face as I ran to see what was happening, only to be confronted by local UKIP councillor Tom Andrews in our privately booked venue.

I repeatedly asked Andrews to leave, only to be told to 'f*** off'. I was shocked that an elected councillor felt it was right to talk to people like this. I asked him to repeat what he had said and he walked right up to me, said it again, and then slapped me across the face. I was shocked. As he left, to join his UKIP friends outside, I immediately phoned the police. The result, eventually, was that Andrews was arrested and forced to accept a police caution for minor assault.

Andrews was not alone, though. His local UKIP branch was incredibly aggressive. They smeared and lied about us to the local media and public, calling us a 'militant group'. Their councillors even got involved in a fight in the local council chambers! Our investigations team then made a major breakthrough: evidence linking a local UKIP county councillor with far-right thugs from

DON'T LET UKIP BREAK OUR GREAT LOVE

HOPE NOT HATE
Project Leadership: HOPE NOT HATE Ltd
PO Box 6204, London NW10 6PF

www.hopenothate.org.uk

...that they love the NHS, but just read the actual views of their leaders and then decide for yourself if our greatest institution is safe in their hands

A vote for UKIP is a vote for the privatisation of the NHS

I would argue that the NHS is a better competition; and as such, the NHS is about choice, innovation and improvements are instigated.

The best example of many of the failings in the United Kingdom is the NHS.

The NHS is a 'socialist-style' nationalised service and a 'militaristic' force for war.

I think we are going to have to move to a better system of healthcare.

Matthew Richardson – UKIP Secretary

Neil Hamilton – UKIP Deputy Chairman



UKIP councillor Tom Andrews (right) threatens HOPE not hate activists

the EDL. Our instincts had been right – this was a thug-like UKIP with a far right element. We immediately went to the local press and delivered 15,000 local papers exposing the truth to the community.

During our positive community campaign, we also ran a voter registration drive at the local mosque and delivered a direct mail message (in Portuguese) to Portuguese-speaking residents. Local trade unions, community groups and existing anti-UKIP groups all worked together to win support and spread a positive message of hope across the borough.

Our ability to develop community alliances, whilst at the same time exposing UKIP as thuggish, clearly resonated with voters. We were delighted to discover that not only did UKIP make zero gains in Great Yarmouth, they also lost a seat and were kicked into third place in the general election.

This is now a real turning point for Yarmouth, but there is a lot of work to do – there still 10 UKIP councillors to remove. Let's start the count down now: 10, 9, 8....

■ David Braniff-Herbert was HOPE not hate's Norfolk organiser during the General Election campaign



Engaging and registering marginalised communities



Our Voice

Our Voice Our HOPE

Elisabeth Pop reports on HOPE not hate's Voter Registration drive

LEADING UP to the General Election, HOPE not hate embarked on an extensive Voter Registration (VR) aimed at giving the most marginalised in society a voice.

With an estimated seven million adults already not on the register and changes to registration system – meaning another million had dropped off – there was a clear crisis of democracy.

HOPE not hate initially received the support of the National Union of Teachers, which generously sponsored our VR initiative but, as the scale of the new drop off emerged, we sought additional help from other trade unions and our supporters.

There were several elements to the campaign, including raising awareness and providing basic training on the new registration rules, engaging with faith and community organisations so they could lead registration drives within their own networks and running our own voter drives in areas of some of the biggest drop-offs.

In addition, we created a stand-alone website that offered various levels of engagement and acted as a hub for comprehensive information about VR, the support we could provide and the tools required to run VR drives.

We also linked up with the *Mirror* newspaper and Unite the union to run a two-week VR bus tour of England and Wales. Over 1,000 people were physically signed up to vote on our bus with more than 5,000 others signing pledges to register when they collected the required documents from home.

The tour was covered in local and national media, with the *Mirror* running prominent stories almost every day, and was supported by a broad coalition of organisations, including Operation Disability Vote, Operation Black Vote and Bite the Ballot.

On one of the bus's stops, in Brighton, we registered 80 students living in a hall of residence where only 12 were on the register previously.

Over one million people registered to vote online during the fortnight of the bus tour, so it is fair to presume that many of these people were motivated by the media coverage we obtained.

Our most successful registration drive took place in Cardiff. Our organiser on the ground personally registered over 3,000 people during several weeks of relentless campaigning but also worked with local mosques and churches to register their respective congregations.

The community campaign network Citizens UK estimates that our efforts alone were responsible for registering over 5,000 people.

A breakthrough in our student registration drives occurred when we were given a briefing paper written by the Cabinet Office to the Electoral Registration Officer (ERO) at Sheffield City Council giving him the discretion to accept University numbers in place of National Insurance, which have proved a massive stumbling block to registering students.

Armed with this briefing, we managed to convince several other EROs around the country to accept student numbers too.

Another successful VR drive was in Lancaster that had a ward where only 22 students were registered at the beginning of the year. After an extensive campaign by us and others, including the students' union, 1,486 students – 46% of all eligible students in the ward – students were able to vote by polling day.

In Brent, HOPE not hate worked tirelessly with the council and created the biggest VR coalition we put together in any of our target constituencies, bringing together

faith and community groups, local trade unions, students and women

and disability groups and registering thousands of people through these networks. Our efforts in the borough were positively recognised by the council who officially noted us in its own materials as a key partner.

In Thurrock, 3,000 people, of whom 36% were black Africans, joined the register in the few months before the election.

HOPE not hate had been active in Thurrock since last year with much of our work focusing on registering the local black African communities via church networks. Our efforts appear to have contributed to the surge of registrations amongst the congregations.

In Leeds, we were the only organisation running a VR drive on campuses, with our part-time worker there also linking up with local mosques with the help of Imam Qari Asim MBE from Makkah Masjid.

Given the complexities of the new registration system and the short space of time we had to run local initiatives, our VR drive was a huge success.

Almost 15,000 people were directly registered through our local organisers and many more signed pledges promising to register when they had the necessary paperwork.



#NoVoteNoVoice VR bus tour

Elisabeth Pop writes

IN THE RUN-UP to the elections, HOPE not hate joined forces with the *Mirror*, Unite the union, Vote Booster and Operation Disabled Vote for a two-week Voter Registration (VR) bus tour of England and Wales.

The tour kicked off on a sunny Sunday afternoon in Chafford Hundred, Thurrock, and finished 15 days later in an equally sunny Newcastle. The trek was a journey of democratic engagement that was a logistical nightmare but a privilege to be part of.

Along the way, the bus linked up with the cast of *The Only Way is Essex*, receiving particular support from James Locke, Gemma Collins and Jasmin Walia for the effort to get more young people on the electoral register.

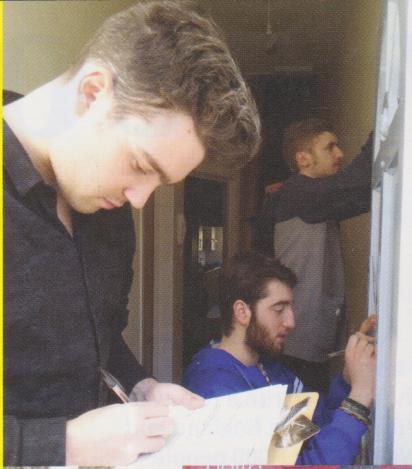
Eighty volunteers, most of them young British Muslims from Dar-Ul Isra Mosque, joined us in Cardiff for the biggest VR drive ever seen in the city.

The volunteers said they strongly believe it is their duty to engage the wider community in the democratic process and thus bring together people of different faiths, ethnic and social backgrounds.

In Yorkshire, we linked up with the cast of *EMMERDALE*, Charlie Hardwick, Fiona Wade, John Bowe, Anthony Quinlan, Joe Gill and John Middleton all sending an appeal to register to vote because "our voice is our HOPE and our voice matters" and "For every voice of HOPE that stays silent, many voices of hate will shout aloud".

Overall, the tour's achievements were:

- 15 stops across England and Wales THAT brought voter registration to town centres, campuses, workplaces, places of worship and doorsteps.
- Daily HOPE not hate blogs, coverage in local media, radio interviews and the most comprehensive coverage on VR that BBC News did this election by choosing the campaign and our Cardiff event as a case STUDY.
- Nationally, the registration of a million people during the two weeks of the VR bus tour.
- The biggest coalition in the history of Voter Registration, thanks to the *Mirror*, UNITE the Union, HOPE not hate, Operation Disabled Vote, Operation Black Vote, Vote Booster, Bite the Ballot, NUT and NUS joining forces.





Going for the jugular in Grimsby

By Nick Lowles

HOPE NOT HATE's strategy in Grimsby was quite different from our other target areas in as much as we targeted the UKIP candidate rather than identifying and focussing on key parts of the electorate.

Flying the UKIP flag was Victoria Ayling, a colourful and divisive character, who stood for the Conservatives in 2010, just missing out on taking the seat by 614 votes.

After consulting local HOPE not hate supporters, it was clear she was the weak link. While UKIP's potential was extremely strong in the area and the seat was ripe for the taking, we knew that she, and particularly her back story, had little in common with local people, especially those who felt most disengaged and marginalised.

Getting stuck into the campaign, we produced 20,000 copies of a localised tabloid newspaper that, as in other areas, concentrated heavily on the UKIP leadership's desire to privatise the NHS. The back page, however, was dedicated to attacking Ayling and proving just how out of touch she really is.

Even before the paper went out, she and her fellow UKIP activists reacted with fury. Their twitter accounts spewed out their bile and police were inundated with complaints, one of which

DOES SELLING COD LIVER OIL TABLETS MEAN YOU UNDERSTAND THE FISHING INDUSTRY?

A pile of yellow omega-3 fish oil capsules, some whole and some broken, scattered on a white surface.

www.hopenothate.org.uk

falsely accused us of “treating” voters, a legal euphemism for bribery. The crime, UKIP alleged, was that we had used red and yellow in our newspaper so this was a subliminal message in support of Labour.

Their anger only increased as we started to distribute the newspaper. UKIP councillors turned up to photograph our activists while EDL thugs attacked two of our activists.

Attacking a candidate is always fraught with danger, particular if voters perceive us being unfair or even bullying. However, the positive reaction to our newspaper only encouraged us to go further.

Even Labour Party activists told us the mood on the doorstep changed after our newspaper went out, many UKIP-leaning voters now openly saying that they were not going to support Ayling.

Also like in our other key areas, we distributed 10,000 copies of our women's booklet, this time with a covering letter from a nurse at a local hospital. This allowed us another

opportunity to remind voters of UKIP's real intentions for the NHS.

In the final week, we really went on the offensive, producing three attack cards that were distributed in our key wards. The first mocked Ayling's claim that her time working for a company selling cod liver oil tablets gave her an insight into the fishing industry.

The second poked fun at her dismissing the renewable energy industry that is, in fact, already employing thousands of local people and is clearly a vital component of the area's economic future.

The final card focused on Ayling's privileged background and how even her own local party disliked her. We used a photo of a stately home that she had recently lived in and asked voters – in the more deprived areas of the constituency – whether a woman who lived here could accurately understand the problems they were facing.

Of course, HOPE not hate was only one part of the campaign against UKIP and the Labour Party certainly ran a very intensive election drive with a

quality candidate. However, we believe with some certainty that our campaign contributed to UKIP doing so badly in a seat that they believed, and some experts predicted, they would win.

OUT OF TOUCH

UKIP candidate Victoria Aylng is in no position to understand the concerns and needs of local people.

Aylng was educated at St Philomenas School, then an expensive private school

DOES LIVING IN THIS MANSION MEAN YOU UNDERSTAND THE LIVES OF PEOPLE IN GRIMSBY?

UKIP CANDIDATE SAYS YES WE SAY NO

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HOPE NOT HATE

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page 4 Something Fishy: Victoria Aylng's story just doesn't add up

VOTE 7 MAY = EVERY VOTE COUNTS

HS under from HS

DOES A PERSON WHO DISMISSES ALTERNATIVE ENERGY AS A "FAD" UNDERSTAND THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF GRIMSBY?

UKIP CANDIDATE SAYS YES WE SAY NO

www.hopenothate.org

OUT OF TOUCH

Renewable gaffe reveals a lack of understanding from UKIP candidate

WHEN UKIP candidate Victoria Aylng hit the headlines last week, it was over what happens when renewable energy runs out. But the possible 10 billion hours the wind turbines could be off the grid has been the real issue facing the people of Grimsby.

It might be for a super-rich western who can afford to pay for a wind farm to grow a megawatt of power in the middle of a field.

Hundreds of millions are being invested in the UK to bring wind power online, but as many as 400 new jobs in the sector and a range of skills are needed to keep the wind turbines running.

It is not clear what the point of all this is, as the UK is not short of energy in the future and renewable energy is the most expensive generation.

It is also not clear what a woman with a seven-year old son from the heart of the English countryside, who has apparently firmly disbelieved the consensus of high-level climate science, is doing.

But she should expect a frosty reception from the people of Grimsby. From marriage when she was young.

Aylng used to attend National Front events

Aylng started shouting at a meeting to 'Resist Islam' in Grimsby, telling people to 'Get off the council' and leave old oil tanks

Aylng once lived in this West Yorkshire mansion, which was put up for sale on the market for £1.1 million

More recently she lived in this £1.1 million home in Grimsby

Aylng once dated Lord Kelvin Canning of Kelvin Canning Holdings

"I'm the only politician keeping the flame of Thatcherism alive"

Nigel Farage

Get involved, get active

Do you believe that:

- a civilised society should look after the poor and the sick?
- discrimination of any sort is wrong?
- we should be uniting rather than dividing our communities?
- free markets deserve strategic investment to create jobs, particularly for young people?
- a fairer society?

If you've answered YES to these questions then you already share the values of HOPE not hate, so why not get involved and help spread the word

Contact us at rotherham@hopenothate.org.uk

Return to: HOPE not hate, PO Box 67476, London NW3 9PF. Or fill in the form online at www.hopenothate.org.uk

Finally, our candidate. However, we believe with some certainty that our campaign contributed to UKIP doing so badly in a seat that they believed, and some experts predicted, they would win.



Registering the vote in Cardiff

Tom Godwin

23,500 PEOPLE fell off the electoral register in Cardiff after the move to Individual Voter Registration, the worst affected being students and marginalised communities.

Students make up a staggering 20% of the population in Cardiff and it was with them that our **#NoVoteNoVoice** campaign began.

Students at Cardiff University, who had run a HOPE not hate campaign in December calling on local politicians to resettle Syrian refugees in the city, occupied Cardiff City Hall in February, taping their mouths shut to represent the voiceless members of their community no longer registered to vote.

That kicked off a concerted community organising campaign, aimed at building a new suffrage movement among students and the wider community in Cardiff.

From the outset, the campaign generated enthusiasm among our young activists. For many, the campaign was an opportunity to have the student voice heard for multiculturalism and to make sure that Cardiff remained a symbol of HOPE in a General Election campaign where the politics of fear had often dominated. For others,

the campaign evoked a more basic battle for democracy.

HOPE not hate student Mariam was born and bred in Cardiff but, with family in Egypt, she had seen friends imprisoned and killed fighting for democracy. Her story was powerful and to the point: she was not prepared to let others give up their rights so easily in Wales.

The turning point for the movement came in March when 70 volunteers took part in a mass canvass in Cathays, a student area with a particularly low rate of voter registration. University and college students, community groups, mosques, churches, trade unionists and other local people physically registered 120 people on their doorsteps, with over 2,000 doors knocked in total explaining to people how to register online. The day began at a local mosque and finished with a feast put on by a local church.

The day's activities were typical of the campaign in Cardiff, voter registration becoming a means to build and strengthen local alliances and train young leaders to take charge of their own communities.

March was the campaign's key period. With students

on campus and around halls nearly every day of the week in Cardiff Central, activists in Butetown and Grangetown expanded the grass roots campaign in Cardiff South. This was reflected in the participation of the Muslim community.

While the Muslim Council of Wales was an early supporter and Imams highlighted the virtues of political participation in their calls to prayer in mosques throughout the city, it was the work of young men and women on Saturday afternoons, knocking on the doors of their neighbours, and endlessly tweeting the link to register online, that really hit home.

In just a few months, our campaign helped 5,000 people back on to the electoral register in Cardiff.

Considering the various obstacles created by the new system of Individual Electoral Registration (IER), this was a fantastic achievement. With Welsh Assembly elections next year, the opportunity to continue the political mobilisation is already here.

A fantastic local coalition has been developed but there is more to be done. Many of the young people who helped in the effort were not old enough to vote themselves on 7 May. Now, though, they have a chance to make their voices heard in 2016.

"In Egypt, thousands of people have been murdered just for their voice to be heard. People face the bullet to reach the ballot. People as young as Asmaa el-Beltagi, just 17 years old, were ready to stand up for their basic rights, but it cost them their lives.

People like Abdel Nasser Agag, who was my best friend's father, have been murdered whilst attempting to bring about a brighter future for their children and the younger generation. Tens of thousands of student activists loom in Egyptian dungeons, facing torture and brutality.

I find it frustrating that people don't realise how lucky they are to have a voice. In Cardiff, 23,000 people who have the right to vote have dropped off the electoral register. We must fight for our right to a democratic voice in our country, and take advantage of the freedoms that we have, freedoms that so many around the world are dying for."

Mariam Afifi, 20

PURPLE RAIN

PUTTING UKIP UNDER THE SPOTLIGHT

On these two pages are just a few of the shocking details we uncovered about UKIP candidates during the recent General Election campaign. Ranging from threats to kidnap to threats to kill as well as outright racism, Islamophobia, homophobia, antisemitism, blaming rival candidates for catching HIV and claiming that drowning migrants were Labour's "floating voters", it seemed there were no depths to which UKIP's brightest and best would not stoop.

Those caught out frequently attempted a 'hacking' defence but not a single police complaint was registered. Even Nigel Farage's chief of staff went on record to say that guilty candidates often used this excuse, calling it "bullshit".

Would-be UKIP MP calls for the kidnapping of President Obama



Jeremy Zeid (right)
with Nigel Farage

UKIP'S HENDON parliamentary candidate Jeremy Zeid called for the kidnapping of US President Barack Obama.

He made the bizarre demand in a Facebook post, commenting on a story about Israel's nuclear capability.

Zeid, who was also chairman of UKIP's Harrow branch, wrote: "Once Obama is out of office, the Israelis should move to extradite the bastard or "do an Eichmann" on him, and lock him up for leaking state secrets. After all what's sauce for the Pollard goose is sauce for the Obama gander, don't you think?"

He then added: "nah, just kidnap the bugger, like they did to [sic] Eichman who

suddenly found that he'd woken up in Israel. The problem is that Israeli jails are far more humane and adherent to human rights than American ones." (He was referring to the Israeli kidnap, trial and execution of Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann in the early 1960s.)

No stranger to controversy, last year Zeid said on Twitter that parts of London were being 'ethnically cleansed' of white people and wrote "the almost absence of white faces in Ilford is worrying". He accused local MP Mike Gapes of being "either blind to or deliberately complicit in the ethnic cleansing of Ilford which I'm sure will be called 'racist'".

Oxfordshire UKIP candidates' offensive social media comments

WE REVEALED how two Oxfordshire UKIP parliamentary candidates posted racist and homophobic comments on social media, just one of many such revelations.

Alan Harris, the UKIP candidate for Oxford West & Abingdon, made a series of offensive posts on Facebook between 2011 and 2013.

In one posting, Harris wrote: "A bacon sandwich – a piece of English heritage the fucking Muslims don't want". Another posting attacked the Morrisons supermarket chain for allegedly not selling poppies so as (in his view) not to offend Muslims.

Harris also wrote: "Why can't I say in my own bloody country black is still a colour and gay (sic) are still queers".

The UKIP candidate then labelled Romanians and Bulgarians coming to the UK as "thieves".

We then exposed a second Oxfordshire candidate posting homophobic comments online.

UKIP's candidate for Banbury, Dickie Bird, made



Alan Harris

a post on Facebook in 2013, saying: "bus done now on the train sat opposite some gay prick".

In another posting, Bird branded former Liverpool and Chelsea footballer Fernando Torres as "a gay boy like the rest".

Dr Lee Upcraft, UKIP's candidate for Wantage and the party's Oxfordshire chairman, told the Oxford Mail that UKIP had asked Thames Valley Police to investigate the images released by HOPE not hate, claiming that they were fake.

Thames Valley Police, however, subsequently confirmed they had received no complaints from UKIP or Upcraft, casting further doubt on the 'hacking' defence.

Candidate suspended following antisemitic slur

UKIP SUSPENDED one of its parliamentary candidates just days before the General Election after he posted an antisemitic slur directed at Labour MP Luciana Berger.

West Lancashire UKIP prospective parliamentary candidate, Jack Sen, told Berger over Twitter: "You're about (as) authentic Labour as Ed Miliband. Protect child benefits? If you had it your way you'd send the £ to Poland/Israel."

Sen also questioned the loyalty of Ms Berger, who is Jewish, to the UK. The allegation of dual loyalty to Israel is tired old antisemitic canard.

Sen attempted to lay the blame for "genocide" in western Europe at the door of ex-Labour leader, Ed Miliband (who is of Jewish heritage), and other leading Jewish figures across the world.



Jack Sen

Berger was previously the victim of a revolting hate campaign conducted by nazis on Twitter that eventually saw the imprisonment of National Action member Garron Helm.

Sen claimed that the comments had been posted on Twitter by a party activist, not by him.

UKIP candidate labels Gurkhas as "parasites"

UKIP CANDIDATE in Aldershot referred to the Gurkhas and their families stationed in the UK as "parasites", causing a great deal of upset.

Bill Walker's Twitter account quoted a tweet that read: "The tragedy is Nepal is a very poor country. The parasites in Aldershot could be injecting money into Nepal."

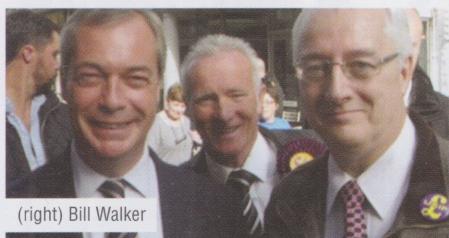
Walker replied: "Well said. Parasites should send their money home. Plus, we should not be taking more in."

The same Twitter account recycled another message that had described the Gurkhas as "mercenaries" who fought in the British Army "for money".

Walker also posted a message on Facebook where he suggested that clinical strikes against mosques in Luton and Bradford would possibly be a good idea.

In his defence, Walker claimed that his Twitter page had been hacked and said that he had referred the matter to Hampshire Police.

However, a Hampshire police spokesman subsequently confirmed that it had "reviewed the matter" and was not investigating further.



(right) Bill Walker

UKIP candidate forced to apologise



Patricia Culligan

A HAMPSHIRE UKIP parliamentary candidate was forced to apologise after incorrectly claiming a Liberal Democrat candidate contracted HIV on purpose.

Eastleigh candidate Patricia Culligan posted the message about Liverpool candidate Paul Childs via Twitter.

Childs had revealed he had HIV after comments were made about the illness by UKIP leader Nigel Farage during the leaders' TV debate.

Farage claimed people could come into the UK from abroad, get diagnosed and receive retroviral drugs allegedly costing the UK taxpayer £25,000 per year.

Culligan said on Twitter: "2nd Lib Dem candidate reveals he deliberately became HIV positive yet free NHS care v costly."

However, of course, Mr Childs had not deliberately contracted HIV at all – a simple (and rather obvious) fact missed by Ms Culligan.

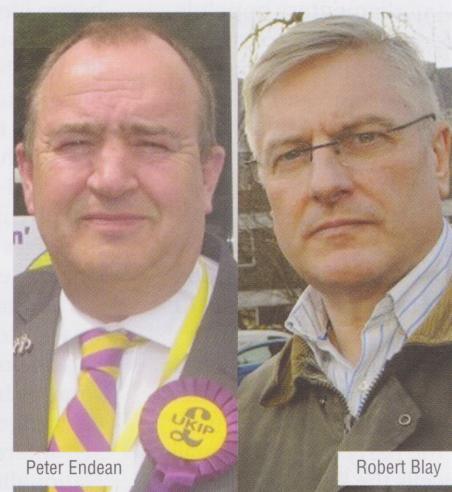
UKIP candidate mocks victims of Mediterranean tragedies

PETER ENDEAN, a UKIP council candidate and the party's Plymouth communications manager, hit a new low when he reposted a sick image poking fun at recent migrant deaths in the Mediterranean.

Endean reposted the offensive message on his personal Twitter account.

It showed an image of migrant survivors with the wording: "Labour's new floating voters. Coming to a country near you soon".

Endean later apologised and claimed he reposted the offensive message by 'mistake'.



UKIP threatened to shoot rival candidate

NORTH EAST Hampshire UKIP parliamentary candidate, Robert Blay, was suspended after he was caught on camera threatening to shoot his Conservative rival candidate, Ranil Jayawardena.

Blay told an undercover reporter from the *Mirror*: "If this lad turns up to be our prime minister I will personally put a bullet in him. That's how strong I feel about it, I won't have this fucker as our prime minister. I absolutely loathe him."

Blay also suggested that Jayawardena, whose parents are from Sri Lanka, had deliberately made his wife pregnant in order to win votes.

"He's 29 years old. He's got his missus to drop a kid just before the election. He's planned the birth of the child, there's no doubt about that. He's a slippery bastard. I've worked with him in the Tories."

Blay continued: "His family have only been here since the 70s. You are not British enough to be in our parliament. I've got 400 years of ancestry where I live. He hasn't got that."

THE IRRELEVANT

May's General Election was momentous for a multiplicity of reasons, not least the electoral near-eradication of the UK's ever more fragmented far right. *Matthew Collins* examines the ongoing demise of British right-wing extremism

May 2015 saw the election where the far right crumpled without a fight, 54 parliamentary hopefuls from six far right parties (plus one identified independent) piling up a magnificent average vote of less than 0.5%.

Biggest loser was the English Democrats (ED) which an average of just 0.43% over the 33 seats they contested. The party stood 107 candidates in the 2010 General Election but, like the rest of the far right and despite the collapse of the British National Party (BNP) – the party that traditionally swells the ED's ranks when fighting with itself – the ED also found the "UKIP factor" draining its energies and gnawing at its central tenets.

The ED may well now be the largest far right party in Britain but it has such a disastrously amateurish image that, despite its engagement with the electoral process, it fails time and time again to register with the electorate. This has been reflected in stagnant membership figures and its diminishing activist base. Even sending out membership renewals, an urgent and relatively simple necessity for small parties, was held up in committee.

Although the party has long committed itself to pouring vast amounts of money into electoral humiliation, it had privately hoped that the "Scottish factor" and a rise in profile of the Welsh nationalists in Plaid Cymru (PC), would pay some dividends in England.

Unfortunately for the ED, its campaigning chased the game with a less than progressive nationalism that may have begun life attempting to mimic the successes of the Scottish National Party and PC but gradually, as the campaign wore on, took to mocking both of them, ignoring their anti-austerity and overall conciliatory electoral messages towards the wider electorate across the UK.

The charge of the English was left to UKIP, with Nigel Farage pointedly attacking what he hoped the English electorate would see as the self-interest of the Scottish Nationalists' and PC.

As an unholy alliance of fascists, nationalists and twee Conservatives, the ED finished the campaign as it had begun it: the angry, irrelevant and distant voice of a surprisingly still politically untapped English nationalism.

Its vote fell sharply in twelve of the seats previously contested, including a massive 7.6% combined drop in the two seats in Doncaster where the ED had once held the post of mayor.

Instead of updating its website with insightful post-election analysis, the party instead launched a campaign for the police and crime commissioner elections to be held in England in 2016.

The ED's leader and

main funder, Robin Tillbrook, is more than a little mindful of how, in many ways, the ED is a ticking-time bomb with the potential to explode into something as ugly and irrelevant as both the English Defence League (EDL) and the National Front (NF), the two groups that isolated sections of the party tried clumsily to cultivate prior to the election.

On its Facebook page, the ED claims it will "now ensure that the

Conservative and Unionist Party now implement their English manifesto." A reply, from one of its Midlands faithful went unanswered. "How are you going to do this?" he wrote. "We only got 104 votes in Nuneaton."

The BNP had what is best described as a silent disaster of an election. Having stood 338 candidates and garnered half a million votes in 2010, by the time their eighth and

final parliamentary candidate was announced it was clear to all that the party would have been better off



(left to right)
Adam Walker
BNP leader
Tess Culnane
the nazi granny
Robin Tillbrook
ED Chairman
NF leader
Kevin Bryan

NOT FAR RIGHT

succumbing to internal pressures not to fight the election at all.

That way, argued Simon Darby, the party's former deputy leader, the BNP could present itself as making a principled stand by abstaining and allowing the UKIP steamroller a clear run at Labour seats where the BNP had previously polled well. Instead, the BNP was simply party to the lowest electoral showing by the far right since 1987.

For Adam Walker, its supposedly temporary leader, if the party's decline under his predecessor Nick Griffin was a painful process, the sheer scale of its demise under his own leadership appears beyond his comprehension. One nationalist commentator, a former BNP official, observed before the election that

Walker's previously endearing naivety had morphed into "full blown incoherent idiocy".

Walker and his leadership put excessive faith in the use of social media for their campaign. But having never really caught up with the trail blazers of both the EDL and the hybrid Britain First (BF) in that department, the party's campaign was a poorly executed exercise in bombarding social media with crude material.

A great surprise of the BNP's campaign was "Nazi Granny" Tess Culnane's switch from the National Front to the BNP in time to stand in the Dagenham & Rainham constituency where the party ultimately suffered a near 11% collapse of the vote compared with 2010. Walker's 0.6% in Rotherham, its supposed "plum" seat, was a pitiful showing given that the party had campaigned internally for funding to run a high profile campaign and where, previously, the BNP had polled over 10%.

Interviewed on the Politics Show, the normally combative Simon Darby was left flustered when host Andrew Neil revealed that the party's membership had now fallen as low as 500 and was a "busted flush." Despite Darby's indignant denials, the party's decay was further illustrated when BNP candidates were forced to deliver slips of handwritten and photocopied pieces of paper in constituencies in place of professionally produced materials.

Despite averaging only 0.5% for its eight candidates, the largest decline of a political party in British electoral history, Darby was back on form directly after the elections, claiming the BNP's campaign had been a "profitable" success and, bizarrely, had succeeded in defeating Ed Miliband and forcing his resignation.

Worst for Adam Walker, though, was the use of pictures of Nick Griffin whenever the mainstream media chose to report the BNP's collapse and demise.

The National Front (NF) had enjoyed good fortune this year with its more militant and openly nazi "northern" faction securing use of the party name for election purposes after an adjudication by the Electoral Commission earlier in the year. Part of the Commission's decision was based on the ability of the northern faction to fulfil electoral obligations and not use its registration as a way of avoiding legal action against its otherwise nefarious activities.

NF leader Kevin Bryan assured members that the party would stand 20 candidates, three more than the 17 candidates the pre-split party stood in 2010. As nominations closed, however, it became evident that Bryan had been more than a little economical with the truth as only seven candidates were standing. It is unclear whether Culnane switched to the BNP without the NF's knowledge as the party had also been planning to stand in Dagenham.

The only real campaign the NF ran was in Bryan's seat of Rochdale where the party took up residence in the centre of town staging a series of provocative, but not necessarily electorally helpful, anti-Muslim protests for a whole month before polling. Poorly produced and non-delivered election addresses hampered many of the NF's candidates, though many of them quite openly had little or no interest in electoral politics.

The weekend before the election, in Rochdale, many NF activists abandoned a planned leafletting of the constituency to go to Coventry for a demonstration by the North West Infidels, a small but vicious nazi group that now operates under the NF's tawdry umbrella. A furious internal row ensued as one of those who preferred Coventry to soiling doorsteps in Rochdale was the NF's electoral officer, Kevin McMahon.

Bryan eventually polled 1% in Rochdale while all other NF candidates failed to poll above 0.4%, averaging 150 votes per candidate. To add to an already expensive and miserable exercise, two NF activists were arrested at the count in Rochdale.



Lennon plots his return

Matthew Collins looks behind the curtains

WHAT REMAINS of the English Defence League (EDL) leadership is planning to meet behind closed doors in Wolverhampton next month to discuss the future of the organisation.

Some are keen to revitalise the movement, others are already voting with their feet by walking away and still others are openly saying that the organisation has run its course and it is time to close it down.

Above all this, the shadow of EDL founder Stephen Lennon looms large. It is not a coincidence that this secret gathering will coincide with the ending of his licence period. Just how much his future agenda will direct the discussion

remains to be seen.

EDL is now an acronym synonymous with mindless thuggery, violence, drunkenness and raucous racism. There will not be thousands of supporters at Wolverhampton, either; maybe a few dozen foot soldiers, organisers and funders and that will be all.

Like the National Front (NF) before it, the EDL is a household name but social movement that has become a complete social pariah, more ridiculed than feared - as it was - and certainly no longer with a voice that people listen to. It has simply become an antisocial nuisance.

The meeting has all the hallmarks of a general meeting, an "extraordinary"

one at that. Before the attendees will be an open forum for a discussion about the future direction of the flailing organisation. The bank accounts - well, the ones that can be located - are empty, its merchandising operation is bust and no-one is entirely sure whether the organisation is owned, shared or even a going concern.

Options up for debate will be whether the organisation should fold, merge or just simply cease to continue. From almost the day the organisation was conceived in the seedy back street pubs and drinking dens of Luton, it has violently fractured and splintered. This has quickened pace in recent



Stephen Lennon announces his resignation from the EDL alongside Quilliam's Maajid Nawaz

months as it has stumbled forward with no clear objective or plan.

Across the country, there are few towns or cities without some grizzled remnant of the EDL but the vast majority of people who engaged with the organisation over its seven year span have simply given up while those who splintered radicalised, no longer willing be a part of an increasingly irrelevant organisation that protested they were not racists, nazis or even thugs. Those who remained loyal to the EDL, meanwhile, have fought themselves and the EDL into a drunken standstill without any coherent purpose, politics or future.

The old guard, linked to the group's founders and original leadership, fear the organisation is now too damaged to serve any further purpose and a series of aggressive up and coming leaders have imposed themselves on the organisation unchallenged.

When they had an interesting and charismatic leader, Stephen Lennon, the EDL could, on its day, be formidable. A jumped-up football hooligan, petty criminal, tanning salon owner who wanted to fight the world, Lennon took the EDL international, drawing support from, if not the mainstream political classes, those polite enough to articulate for him what he wanted to say.

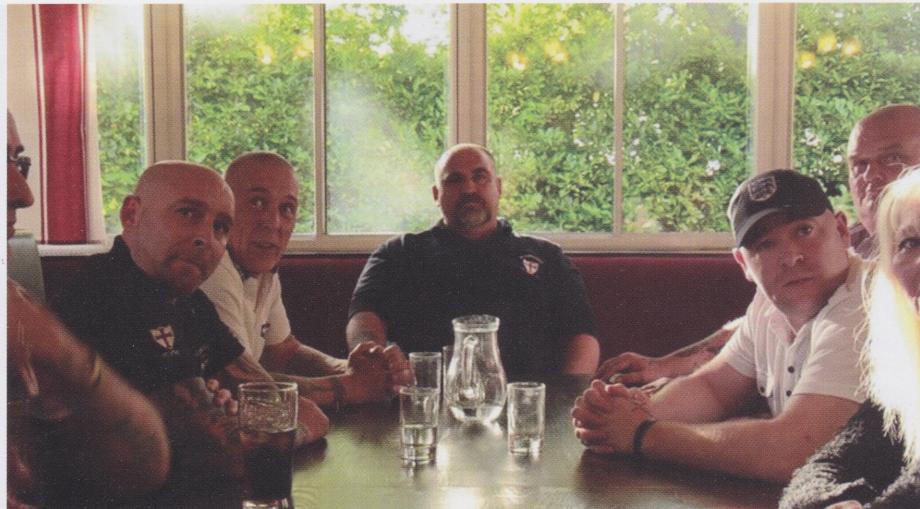
Under Lennon, The EDL was the all-encompassing, fashion conscious, drunken family unit that could open pubs early and then riot in almost every English town and city. Despite his open and ongoing criminality, Lennon's charming good looks and consummate media performances at least kept the interests of the EDL's interested parties in the media and in the spotlight.

Despite walking out of the EDL in October 2013 and claiming the organisation had been taken over by "scum" and was infested with "neo-Nazis" and "fringe elements," Lennon still dominates its future direction.

Rumours abound that Lennon might even put in an appearance though he is more likely to pull the strings through a number of people still loyal to him in the EDL leadership.

This is not the outcome he envisaged when he jumped ship back in 2013. It was not so much that he had dramatically altered his views but more that, in joining up with the anti-extremist group Quilliam, he believed he was really upgrading his vehicle. He remained strongly opposed to Islamist extremism but understood that the EDL had run its course and was proving counter-productive for his own needs.

There was also a financial motivation for his decision to abandon the EDL in



EDL leader Steve Eddowes surrounded by his lieutenants

that he felt personally let down by the lack of assistance he received from the group whilst in prison for travelling to the US on someone else's passport.

He had received a paltry £1,800 from the organisation's coffers, an amount he felt was derisory and said much about the EDL.

By comparison, the US anti-Muslim activist Pam Geller rushed to his aid by sending over £10,000 and this explains his reluctance to publicly condemn her at his press conference with Quilliam.

Lennon's dreams of lecturing against extremism in schools alongside Quilliam's Usama Hasan, with whom he had built a close relationship, were shattered only a few weeks later when he was imprisoned for 18 months for his part in a mortgage fraud.

On his release, last summer, he still hoped he could mainstream his anti-extremism but the publication of the Rotherham child sex scandal and the formation and murderous activities of Islamic State led him to revert back to his old self. If anything, his anti-Muslim/anti-Islam tirades on twitter became even stronger.

There was now no turning back but the conditions of his parole licence meant that he was not allowed to get involved in any front line or public activity until July 2015.

He has not sat back quietly, though. He has been plotting his return for several months now, assisted by a small circle of counter-jihadists only too eager to reintegrate him into the counter-Jihad movement.

Among them are people like Alan Ayling (*aka* as Alan Lake) and an American who goes by the name of Kinara, who operated behind the scenes of the EDL. Joining them have been Lord Pearson, a one-time leader of UKIP, and a collection of radical Christians and "women's rights" activists with gripes

against Islam who met irregularly to plot a path back for Lennon.

Several of these people are active within the London branch of UKIP, with some even standing as candidates in recent elections.

It is also rumoured that Lennon is considering organising his own 'Mohammed cartoon' competition, similar to that held by Geller and Robert Spencer in Texas, which led to a deadly attack by an Islamist extremist. Already, similar cartoon stunts, designed to offend and wind up Muslims, are being lined up in the Netherlands and Denmark by counter-jihadists.

In May, Lennon spoke at the launch of VOICE (Victims of Islamic Cultural Extremism), set up by Anne Marie Waters, a one-time head of the secular society and a UKIP candidate at the recent General Election. Lennon told the 55 people present that while he would not be available to launch anything of his own until his bail conditions changed in July, he was fully intent on launching something but that he would need the support of people he could trust.

One of the few people Lennon properly trusts is Steve Eddowes, the EDL's leader, who is from the West Midlands and who is hosting the Wolverhampton meeting. It seems inconceivable that Lennon has not shared his plans with Eddowes and, so, this makes the timing of the EDL meeting even more suspicious.

Whatever the outcome of the Wolverhampton meeting, one thing is certain, Lennon will be back next month and with him will come a whole heap of trouble.

Profiles of leading Counter-Jihadists in the UK, see over 

Counter-Jihadists' profiles

1 ALAN AYLING



1. ALAN AYLING: aka Alan lake, Lennon's former mentor and money man remains active in the background still trying to rehabilitate Lennon among the counter-Jihadists.

2. ANN MARCINI: Operates under several names. Key to reintroducing Lennon back into politics through various counter-Jihad and Christian front outfits.

3. MAGNUS NIELSEN: Controversial former UKIP candidate has been building a network of support around the party's fringe for Lennon's return

4. ANNE MARIE WATERS: Ex-Labour Party and women's rights activist. Switched to UKIP to stand at the last elections. Now heads up 'Sharia Watch'.

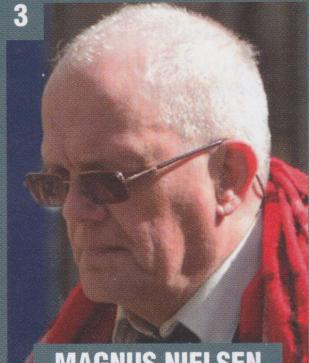
5. 'KIRNANA'. Secretive north American resident here. Worked closely with Alan Ayling in the EDL's early days. Organises fundraising and speaking events for people wishing to back Lennon.

6. LORD PEARSON: Former UKIP leader, now sits in the House of Lords. Recently entertained Lennon in the House by way of introducing him to polite society.

7. TONI BUGLE: Front person for MARIAS (Mothers Against Radical Islam & Sharia)



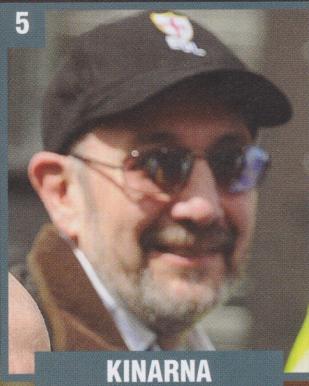
2 ANN MARCINI



3 MAGNUS NIELSEN



4 ANN MARIE WATERS



5 KIRNANA



6 LORD PEARSON



7 TONI BUGLE

EXTREMISM ANALYSIS FASCISM RACISM

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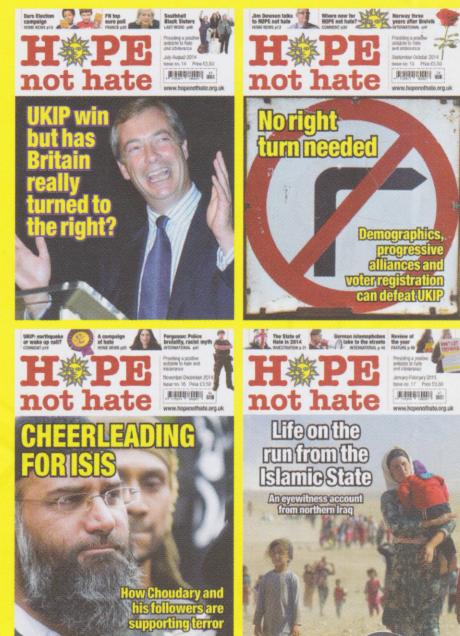


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Putting the rise (and fall) of UKIP in European context

Cas Mudde gives a trenchant overview

Britons are famous for their particular view of European politics. When I worked at the University of Edinburgh, 15 years ago, I taught on a course called "European Politics" that was presented alongside, but separate from, a course on "British Politics." The British course didn't cover Europe and the European course didn't cover Britain. After all, Europe is "The Continent." Nigel Farage would have loved it!

In similar vein, many British people have long perceived far right politics to be a "European" phenomenon. After all, fascism never really caught on in Britain in the 1930s and, whereas far right parties like the Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ) and National Front (FN) have influenced Austrian and French politics for decades now, Britain has only had the minor nuisances of the National Front (NF) and British National Party (BNP) to contend with. "British exceptionalism" was the most popular explanation among the British people and elite.

Allegedly, democracy and tolerance are so fundamental to the British psyche and tradition that far right politics stands no chance on the British Isles – obviously, this 'explanation' ignores that the National Front (NF) was the first successful modern far right party in Europe or that various studies had shown mass support for "a party like the FN" in Britain.

The rise of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) can be seen as both a confirmation and a rejection of the "British exceptionalism" thesis. It all depends, of course, on how you classify UKIP. Is it a far right party or not? That this is not a straightforward question is illustrated by the surprising fact that neither academics like Matthew Goodwin and Rob Ford nor activists like HOPE not hate provide a clear answer.

This is partly the result of the erratic nature of the beast. UKIP is an extremely volatile political phenomenon, which has made major changes in personnel and ideology in its still relatively short history.

In this article I will put the rise (and imminent fall) of UKIP in a broader European context and argue that,

although it has had a distinct pattern, Britain is neither uniquely democratic nor immune to radical right politics.

A Quick Party History

UKIP was founded as a single-issue anti-European Union party in 1993. Its founders came from the Anti-Federalist League, a party founded to oppose the Maastricht Treaty. Its leader was a history professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), Alan Sked, who had stood as a candidate for the Liberal Party (not LibDems) in the 1970s.

This notwithstanding, UKIP was essentially an anti-EU Conservative Party, squeezed between the internally divided real Conservative Party and James Goldsmith's well-funded Referendum Party. After the disastrous 1997 general elections (see below), Sked resigned and started a lifelong feud against UKIP. If Goldsmith had not died soon after the elections, we would probably have forgotten all about UKIP by now.

But freed from its main competitor, UKIP got a second wind under the leadership of millionaire businessman Michael Holmes, who led the party to three seats in the European Parliament, but quit in 2000. The party then went into another period of internal divisions and decay under the unremarkable leadership of Graham Booth and Roger Knapman.

It got a third wind after the successful 2004 European elections and rumours that the flamboyant chat-show host and ex-Labour MP Robert Kilroy-Silk, elected to the European Parliament for UKIP, would become the new party leader. Instead, Kilroy-Silk left UKIP after criticising the leadership, and founded the unsuccessful Eurosceptic Veritas party.

After yet another unsuccessful general election, Nigel Farage was elected leader in 2006 and took the party to new heights, resigning briefly in 2009 and even more briefly in 2015 – although recent murmurings among prominent 'Kippers' suggested some wanted the break longer than Farage had anticipated.

The Nature of the Beast

In its early days, UKIP was easily defined as an anti-EU single-issue party. While most of its leading members came from the Conservative Party and held conservative views, the party mainly limited itself to opposing, initially, the Maastricht Treaty and, later, EU membership. As UKIP never invested much time in developing a comprehensive party ideology or organisation and was almost constantly involved in leadership struggles and candidate purging, it is hard to classify. Its electoral manifestoes are fairly general and its issues change regularly.

Moreover, the leadership itself does not seem particularly bothered by party documents as was perfectly illustrated last year when Farage branded the 2010 UKIP manifesto "drivel." Perhaps this is the reason that academics have devoted so little attention to the ideology of UKIP. Even the seminal *Revolt on the Right* by Robert Ford and Matthew Goodwin does not systematically address the crucial issue, merely implying that UKIP is a "radical right" party.

If we focus mainly on the campaigns for the 2014 European and 2015 British elections, it is clear that UKIP has ventured far outside of its traditional single-issue anti-EU nature. In fact, the EU wasn't even the main issue in its last campaign. While immigration was initially mostly linked to the EU, through its opposition to intra-EU immigration from Eastern Europe, the terrorist attacks in Paris and the tragedy of drowning immigrants in the Mediterranean dragged Farage into a broader debate on immigration. In both cases, his positions looked very similar to radical right parties in other European countries.

His warnings of a Muslim "fifth column" and (returning) ISIS terrorists are identical to those of popular radical right leaders like Geert Wilders of the Dutch Party for Freedom (PVV). However, this type of Islamophobia also reaches deep into the conservative establishment. Similarly, Farage's support for an Australian-type immigration policy

Table 1. UKIP results in British and European elections, 1997-2015

Year	1994	1997	1999	2001	2004	2005	2009	2010	2014	2015
UK		0.3		1.5		2.2		3.1		12.6
EU	1.0		6.7		16.1		16.6		27.5	

Table 2. Main populist party results in 2014 European elections and most recent national election.

Country	Populist Party	%EP14	%Nat	Rank
Austria	Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ)	19.7	20.5	3
Belgium	Flemish Interest (VB)	4.1	3.7	10
Bulgaria	Bulgaria Without Censorship (BBT)	10.7	5.7	6
Denmark	Danish People's Party (DFP)	26.6	12.3	3
Finland	Finns Party (PS)	12.9	19.1	2
France	National Front (FN)	25.0	13.6	3
Germany	The Left	7.3	8.6	3
Greece	Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA)	26.6	36.3	1
Hungary	Fidesz – Hungarian Civic Union (Fidesz)	51.5	44.5	1
Ireland	Sinn Fein (SF)	19.5	9.9	4
Italy	Five Star Movement (M5S)	21.2	25.6	1
Lithuania	Order and Justice (TT)	14.3	7.3	4
Netherlands	Party for Freedom (PVV)	13.2	10.1	3
Norway	Progress Party (FrP)	--	16.3	3
Poland	Law and Justice (PiS)	31.8	29.9	2
Romania	People's Party – Dan Diaconescu (PP-DD)	3.7	14.7	3
Slovakia	Direction-Social Democracy (Smer-SD)	24.1	44.4	1
Spain	We Can (Podemos)	8.0	--	--
Sweden	Sweden Democrats (SD)	9.7	12.9	3
Switzerland	Swiss People's Party (SVP)	--	26.6	1
UK	United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP)	27.5	12.6	3

has been echoed by both radical right (e.g. Wilders) and conservative politicians (e.g. MEP Daniel Hannan).

What makes UKIP most different from populist radical right parties like the FN or PVV, however, is its neoliberal core. Fundamentally, UKIP has an individualist neoliberal rather than a collectivist nativist ideology. Consequently, whereas the economy is a secondary issue for populist radical right parties, it is a primary issue for UKIP. Moreover, while citizenship has cultural aspects, it is not 'ethnic' in the radical right way.

Consequently, Farage can claim that he prefers immigrants from India to those from Eastern Europe, because they share a broader British/Commonwealth culture. In essence, UKIP's opposition to both the European Union and immigration is framed primarily in economic terms.

In this way, UKIP is more similar to neoliberal populist parties like the List Dedecker (LDD) in Belgium, the now defunct List Pim Fortuyn (LPF) in the Netherlands or the Progress Party in Norway. Perhaps the best analogy, however, is the Alternative for Germany (AfD), another party founded as an anti-

EU single-issue party that suffers both ideological and leadership challenges.

But even if UKIP is ideologically not a populist radical right party, like the FN or PVV, it acts as the *functional equivalent* within the British political system. As Ford and Goodwin have convincingly shown in their award-winning book, established academic theories of radical right parties in Europe perfectly explain the electoral basis and success of UKIP.

Just as the FN and PVV mobilise the "left behind" in France and the Netherlands, UKIP does so in the UK, profiting from working class frustration with Labour and middle class frustration with Conservatives. In many ways, the stereotypical UKIP voter is the stereotypical radical right voter in Europe: a lowly educated, working class, white male. They share mainly socio-cultural grievances over immigration and Islam and feel betrayed by all the established parties which they consider to be 'all the same'.

The Rise and Fall and Rise of UKIP

The party's erratic history is closely related to its erratic electoral results. They are both cause and consequence of each other. What make the electoral



Marine Le Pen

results so erratic are the mixed cycles of the British general elections and the European elections. While UKIP has consistently increased its electoral support in each British and each European election, it has generally performed much worse in the former than in the latter (see table 1).

The big differences between the British and European results are not surprising.

Firstly, UKIP is still mainly *identified* as an anti-EU (single-issue) party. Even though national elections have a much larger impact on European policies than European elections – as national elections determine the national government, which represents the country in the European Council and chooses its representative in the European Commission – people still identify national elections with national issues and European elections with European issues – even if national issues tend to dominate both election campaigns.

Secondly, the British elections are held under the hugely disproportionate first-past-the-post system while a proportional system is used for the European elections. Electoral systems have a significant impact on both



Nigel Farage

true political earthquake: France and the UK.

UKIP achieved the third biggest score of all populist parties in Europe, left, right and centre. Moreover, the two parties that gained a larger share of the vote are both established parties in their respective party systems, Fidesz in Hungary and PiS in Poland, not an outside challenger like UKIP. In contrast, its national result is much more in line with the European pattern.

Compared with other successful populist parties, which exist in just over half the European countries, UKIP gets a fairly average score. Similarly, like most other successful populist parties in Europe, UKIP was the third largest party in the 2015 British elections.

Of course, because of the plurality system, UKIP has only one MP, which makes the party quite similar to the FN which is also confronted with a highly disproportional electoral system. Both parties have huge factions in the European Parliament, yet hardly any MPs in their national parliament.

If it wants to break out of its national isolation, as Marine Le Pen is currently doing with the FN, it will not just need an attractive party leader like Nigel Farage but also a well-organised political party with more or less competent and disciplined candidates. In organisational terms, however, the FN and UKIP couldn't be further apart.

The Imminent Fall of UKIP

The 2015 general elections were a disappointment for UKIP, whether it officially admits it or not. Virtually every opinion poll had them at four seats, yet they won only one, a sitting Tory-turned-UKIP MP. Overall, they seemed to have done particularly poorly in the districts they targeted and mainly exceeded expectation in districts with low turnout and a traditionally high Labour support.

Most tellingly, however, is that they actually lost almost half a million voters in the year between the 2014 European elections and the 2015 British elections. This is even more remarkable given that turnout in 2015 was almost twice as high as in 2014. In other words, while 14,236,739 *more* Britons voted in the general elections than in the European elections, 495,506 *fewer* people voted for UKIP in 2015 than in 2014! That is a loss of over 10% of its 2014 electorate.

Even if this is largely due to the psychological effects of the first-past-the-post system, namely the fear of 'wasting' a vote, it still signals at least two – interrelated – problems for UKIP: credibility and soft support. In many ways the general elections were the perfect storm for UKIP.

It was still riding its high of the European elections, it was expected that no party would get a majority and another coalition would be necessary (bolstering the relevance of 'small' parties), the traditional 'third party' (the LibDems) was going to get a beating, political dissatisfaction was at record levels, all mainstream party leaders were hugely unpopular, and immigration was among the most salient issues for the public. And, still, many potential UKIP supporters decided either not to vote or to support one of the established parties.

Undoubtedly, this is related to the weak UKIP campaign and the endless list of minor and major scandals surrounding its candidates which were eagerly reported to the media by organisations like HOPE not hate. Still, it points to the soft support for UKIP, which is quite different from parties like the FN and FPÖ that have, overall, had very high party loyalty among their electorates.

Can the European membership referendum, rumoured for summer 2016, give UKIP a fifth wind? Possibly. If Farage's faux-resignation does not lead the party into its usual post-general election leadership crisis, UKIP should be able to be highly visible in the run-up to the EU Referendum. Its tragedy is that the one thing it has always wanted is also the one thing that will make it almost certainly irrelevant.

If a majority of Britons vote for a British exit from the EU (i.e. the Brexit), UKIP will have lost its core reason to exist. If the polls are to be believed (but who can still argue this after the recent "Pollmageddon"?), however, this will not happen. Currently the majority of Britons reject the Brexit. And this is even before the onslaught of pro-EU propaganda is unleashed on the British population that will make the campaign of 1975 look like child's play.

As one only gets one chance to vote down the EU (think France and the Netherlands), compared to several to support it (think Denmark and Ireland), most Eurosceptics will feel that a failed 2016 referendum closes the book on the issue of EU membership, at least for some time to come, again making UKIP largely irrelevant.

In short, whatever the outcome of the EU referendum, UKIP is almost certainly destined for irrelevance. But even if UKIP does become so, the structural causes of the "revolt of the right" remain present and might even be heightened by the referendum.

In the wake of the EU referendum, and UKIP's demise, the "left behind" will just look for another party that supplies them with a more or less radical right program, just as in the rest of Europe.

campaigns and voting patterns. While UKIP supporters might worry about a 'wasted vote' in the British elections, they know votes will translate into seats at the European level.

Table 2 allows us to put the rise of UKIP in a broader European perspective. It lists the most important populist parties – left and right – in Europe today. In states with multiple successful populist parties only the most successful party is included. The third column gives the electoral result in the 2014 European elections, the fourth the result in the most recent national election (lower house), and the fifth its ranking among all national parties.

As is clear, UKIP did spectacularly well in the European elections of May 2014. The results of the most successful populist parties ranged from 51.5 percent to 3.7 percent of the vote – note that countries with no successful populist party are excluded (e.g. Luxembourg, Portugal or Slovenia).

On average, populist parties gained some 12.5 percent of the vote in the last European elections; not insignificant, but hardly a "political earthquake" as the international media claimed. In fact, only two countries experienced a



FN makes big poll gains b

From Jean-Yves Camus in Paris

ON 22 MARCH, only 49% of the French voters took part in the first round of the *départementales*, local elections that take place at a level that is intermediate between city and region.

That turnout was 7% less than in the previous election back in 2011. Despite Prime Minister Manuel Valls having led a very strong campaign against the extreme-right, the Front National (FN) polled 25.24%, an all-time high but, contrary to its claims, it is not the largest political party in France. The conservative coalition of Sarkozy's UMP and the more liberal UDI won 35.51% and the Socialist Party, despite heavy losses, received an unexpected 28.5%.

Because of the two-ballot, majority system that is in operation (proportional representation will only be in use in the December 2015 regional elections), the FN won just 12 seats, most of them in north-eastern France and Provence. Among the extreme-right winners were the mayors of Fréjus and Le Pontet,

who were elected in 2014 and won the *départementales* on the first ballot.

The party made big gains in the former heavy industrial regions of Nord-Pas de Calais and Champagne-Ardennes as well as in the more affluent areas of southern France that have been an FN stronghold since the 1980s.

It failed, however, to reach the 30% predicted by the opinion polls, a situation that means that disillusioned conservative voters are still reluctant to switch their vote from the UMP to the FN out of fear that Le Pen does not have the ability to run the country.

Under the new chairmanship of former president Nicolas Sarkozy, who wants to run again in 2017, the conservative right has become more vocal against FN while at the same time adopting a more radical tone on the issues of law and order, immigration and Islam in order to stop the FN from gaining new supporters.

Sarkozy has repeated that he opposes any kind of agreement between his party

and FN at any level. Meanwhile, his own approach to the issue of French national identity is now clearly in opposition to multiculturalism and, in the wake of the murderous terrorist attacks carried out in January by radical Islamists, he has publicly called for a ban on the hijab in French universities.

The FN was still rejoicing from its (mild) success when, on 23 March, Jean-Marie Le Pen, its 86 years-old Honorary Chairman and MEP, made another antisemitic slur on national radio, regurgitating his infamous 1987 remark that the Nazi gas chambers "are a detail in the history of the Second World War".

This outrageous statement drew a quick response from Marine Le Pen's "Young Guard", which is trying to pretend that the FN has broken with its extremist past. Marine Le Pen herself said she does not think like her father on this issue, but worse was still to come.

The following week, Le Pen Snr. gave an interview to the antisemitic, fascist



ut faces internal warfare

weekly Rivarol, in which he stated that he was "fed up with democracy", acknowledged his fight was for the "White Race" and said there are "many supporters of Marshal Pétain" among the FN membership.

This resulted in the party's number two, Florian Philippot, asking for sanctions against Le Pen, including the possibility that he be stripped of his Honorary Chairmanship of the party while the hardliners, led by MEP Bruno Gollnisch, stood behind Le Pen. A split in the party was then seen as a possible outcome of the feud.

On 9 April, Marine Le Pen decided it was time to act against her father, in order to "prove" the party was becoming mainstream, announcing that she opposed her father leading the FN slate in the December 2015 regional elections in which he intended to seek another term in Provence.

She also announced that the party's disciplinary body would decide what

sanctions should be imposed on Le Pen who has now withdrawn reluctantly from the election race in order to "save the unity of the party".

The FN slate in Provence will now be led by 25 years-old Marion Maréchal-Le Pen, Jean-Marie Le Pen's granddaughter, an MP and a bruiser like him. The possibility that Le Pen will be sacked from the FN, though, is very slim. Moreover, he has not been asked to resign his Brussels European Parliament seat.

This, despite the way he theatrically stole the show at the FN's annual May Day rally where he deliberately strode onto the platform as she began her speech and stood with his arms outstretched to invite the crowd's evident adulation.

Le Pen snr., suspended from FN membership on 4 May at a disciplinary hearing he refused to attend, then took to the airwaves to disown his errant daughter, aver that she had stabbed him

in the back and that he did not want the family name associated with her FN and declare that he wished her no success in the 2017 presidential elections.

This is no cosmetic split. Amid the ructions, the Le Pens are no longer speaking and Le Pen snr. has hinted at forming a new group to force the FN to return to its old path. This might be rather difficult now the party faces an autumn parliamentary inquiry over the €9 million loan Marine has secured from a Russian bank and light is now being thrown on the €2.2 million her father allegedly stashed away in a hidden Swiss account. Although he and his daughter do not share the same views on Nazi genocide and numerous other – tactical – issues, both of them agree on the core of the FN platform, especially on immigration and national identity. Marine's words on these issues might certainly be softer and less old-fashioned than her father's but it would be a mistake to conclude that she is straying away from the far right. ●

Golden Dawn's trial splutters into life and out again...

From Panayote Dimitras for Greek Helsinki Monitor in Athens

ON 20 APRIL 2015, the trial of Golden Dawn (GD) before an Athens three-member Felony Court began, expected to last well into 2016, only to be adjourned until 7 May since when, thanks to legal and procedural wrangles, the case has proceeded little further. On their way to the court on 20 April, two witnesses for the prosecution were attacked by five unknown individuals, probably GD supporters, and were hospitalised temporarily while, on 15 May, left-wingers on trial in another courtroom disrupted the nazi trial, causing its adjournment to 4 June.

There are now 68 nazi defendants, including all 18 GD MPs elected in June 2012 (most re-elected in January 2015). An additional defendant, being a minor, will be tried separately by a juvenile court.

All sixty-nine are being tried for forming a criminal organisation that carried out violent and racist attacks against targeted individuals, mostly migrants but also anti-racist activists and – rarely mentioned in the indictment – Roma. In addition to the general charges, the defendants will be tried also for specific crimes, including the murder of rapper and left activist Pavlos Fyssas on 17 September 2013, which triggered the criminal investigation against the nazi party. For all other acts described in the indictment, separate trials have been or will be held.

The trial started with a very long delay, especially when one considers that the judges concluded their investigation a year ago. Since then, GD lawyers have filed a series of motions with the purpose to delaying the referral to trial.

The competent judges reviewed them with customary slowness so that the file was not able to reach the hands of the prosecutor before the midsummer of 2014.

The prosecutor duly filed his 800-page motion in October 2014 but the indictment chamber did not deliberate on it until after the January 2015 elections. The 1,100-page indictment (that includes the full text of the prosecutor motion) was finally published in early February 2015.

As the indictment had to be served to the defendants before a trial date could be set, again the slow court procedures

led to the setting of the beginning of the trial for after Orthodox Easter (12 April). As the trial began all of 19 months after the Fyssas murder, following which the GD leadership and several members were remanded in custody, GD's top leaders were, in the meantime, set free, with some restraining orders like home arrest, after the maximum 18-month remand period came to an end in late March 2015.

The first of what are expected to be a large number of controversies around the trial emerged even before its beginning when it was decided to hold it in a special court room in the Korydallos (Greater Athens) Prison, where the trials at first instance and on appeal of the "left" terrorist "17 November" organisation were held in 2003 and 2005-2007.

The civil plaintiffs protested as the "prison court" is difficult to access, asking instead that the large amphitheatre of the Athens Appeals Court where several large trials have been held, be used.

The local authorities in Korydallos have also objected, citing possible negative impact on the normal functioning of the suburb, including the schools close to the "prison court," because of the expected extensive security measures required and also because of rallies by GD supporters.

On 20 April, the trial started but, as one of the defendants did not have a lawyer, the court appointed one and adjourned until 7 May to give that lawyer time to study the voluminous case file. Additionally, the prosecutor said a more suitable venue will be sought and will be announced on 7 May. However, the Minister of Justice declared afterwards that there is no other suitable courtroom and the trial will continue in the "prison court".

It is expected that the scores of lawyers for the GD defendants will file motions for the annulment of parts of, if not all, the indictment. Hence the "real trial" with the examination of the witnesses for the prosecution may not start for weeks.

In the meantime, Golden Dawn has enjoyed a re-legitimisation in Parliament. The Speaker, Zoe Konstantopoulou, an MP from the ruling radical left SYRIZA party, shocked her party – and public opinion – with her insistence that roll-

call votes cannot be held in the absence of remanded GD MPs who should be given leave to participate to them. When the prosecutor refused such leave, Konstantopoulou went as far as to claim that his reasoning "does not satisfy Parliament."

Although she was overruled by near-unanimous decisions of the MPs, including from her own party, Konstantopoulou insisted on reiterating her argument time and again, losing it each time. However, SYRIZA ministers also broke with the tradition of a few conservative New Democracy predecessors of not answering parliamentary questions by GD MPs. Their failure to "boycott" GD's questions missed a prime opportunity to generalise the *cordon sanitaire* against the nazis – and, thus to isolate GD's MPs – that one would have expected from radical left politicians.

SWEDEN | Far rightists expel far rightists

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

The far right extremist Sweden Democrats, has expelled seven leading members, including Gustav Kasselstrand, the head of its youth wing, for having contacts with openly racist or antisemitic movements.

The viscerally anti-immigration party, which came in third in Sweden's parliamentary elections last September, had launched investigations into twenty-four members suspected of straying from the party's much vaunted but rather dubious "zero tolerance" of racism.

Some of the twenty-four opted to resign and some were cleared, but "we decided to expel seven people", party secretary, Richard Jomshof, told reporters. The seven were accused of having contacts with such groups as the fascist Nordisk Ungdom (Nordic Youth) movement. Some of the expelled members had expressed "antisemitic opinions" or expressed support of "a former dictator in Germany, namely Adolf Hitler," declared Jomshof.

The party has been plagued by similar crises in recent years as its leaders have attempted to give it a cosmetic makeover in a bid to inject themselves into the mainstream.

Nazi killers jailed

Ulyana Bobrova reports from Moscow

THREE MEMBERS of the serial-killing nazi Militant Organization of Russian Nationalists (BORN) were handed lengthy prison terms by a Moscow court in April.

The group murdered at least eleven people, including a federal judge, a human rights lawyer, a journalist, a migrant and three anti-fascist activists on the basis of their victims' ethnic background, political views or public status.

Vyacheslav Isayev, Maxim Baklagin and the now dead Alexei Korshunov carried out the murder of Eduard Chuvashov, a federal judge in 2010 as a reprisal for the judge's rulings in high-profile hate crime cases.

In 2010, Baklagin and Isayev murdered a taxi driver, Soso Khachikyan, after hearing that he had assaulted the manager of a phone shop, causing her to miscarry a baby. It later emerged that the LifeNews television channel, which had reported the story and is notorious for its sensationalism, was plain wrong and that no such miscarriage had occurred. The woman was not even pregnant, it was revealed in court.

Baklagin and Isayev were sentenced to life imprisonment and another BORN member, Mikhail Volkov, who knifed anti-fascist activist Fyodor Filatov to death in 2008 and shot Rasul Khalilov, a member of the anti-racist defence group, the Black Hawks, in 2009, was sentenced to 24 years in prison.

The fourth defendant in the trial, Yuri Tikhomirov, was acquitted by the jury of being part of an extremist group and illegal possession of firearms, but will go back to jail, having been sentenced back in 2012 to 10 years

in prison for murdering another anti-fascist activist, Ilya Dzhaparidze, in 2009. Police are still hunting other suspected BORN members.

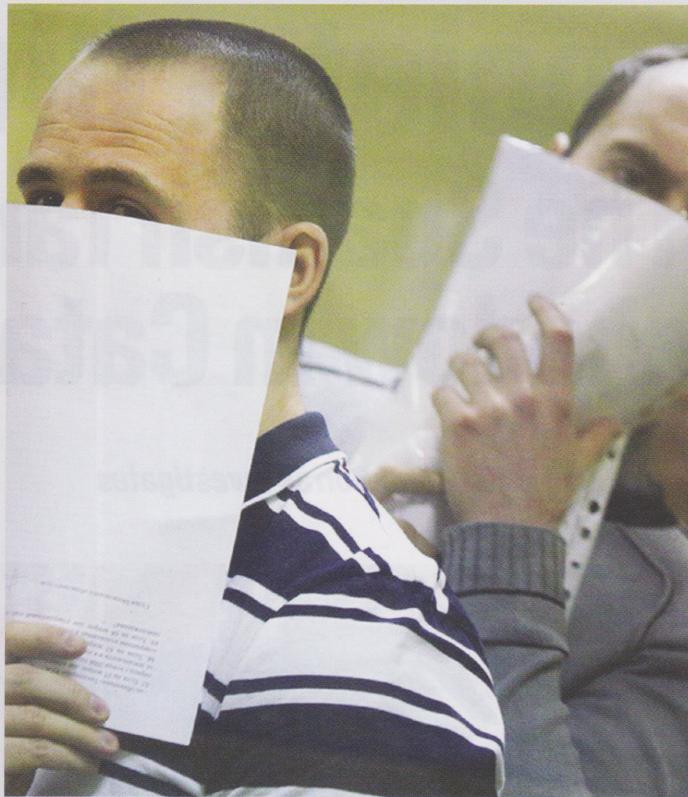
This latest trial of BORN members has taken almost half a year and the list of murder charges was long. Volkov began his murderous career together with Nikita Tikhonov – now serving life for the coldblooded 2009 shooting of anti-fascists, lawyer Stanislav Markelov and journalist Anastasia Baburova – in the late 1990s while the so-called United Brigades-OB-88 gang. Baklagin and Isayev made Tikhonov's acquaintance later.

Tikhomirov presented himself in court as a victim but his fellow defendants also claimed to know nothing about BORN and even tried to distance themselves from the gang.

The trial brought many revealing details about the progression of events to the surface but lost sight of the underlying political context not least the stuff about "managed nationalism" promoted by the Russian political elite for more than a decade.

Links between Russia's nazi scene and elements in the police are nothing new but BORN took them much further. Its ambitious leaders benefited from the anxious Kremlin's interest in the extreme right as a possible response – within certain limits – to the "Orange danger" of the first Maidan in neighbouring Ukraine.

With BORN has closed a chapter in the history of Russian nazism which is now active in the Donbas where it can renew itself without fear of being disturbed or punished. It is notable that representatives of the extreme right are able to act – on both



sides in the Ukraine conflict – on behalf of or with the knowledge of the state. Ilya Gorjatschew, now in custody awaiting trial, started out first with the magazine *Russky Obraz* and then, in 2007, with an organisation of the same name, laid the foundations for BORN, making top-level political contacts.

Gorjatschew's friend Nikita Tikhonov, made sure BORN took shape as Russky Obraz's military wing, acquiring the necessary weapons and recruiting the future killers. Gorjatschew had pinpointed to Tikhonov the names of people to be eliminated in the interests of parts of the political establishment.

Yevgeny Waljajew, the former press officer of Russky Obraz who also played a key role in BORN, continues to ply his "talents" in the Kremlin's pool of experts with success, discrediting not only left-wingers and anarchists, but also nazis who do not endorse the course of the Russian leadership in the Donbas, and advancing cooperation with European rightist parties.

Tikhonov and Volkov kicked off with the murder of anti-fascist Fyodor Filatov in October 2008 but BORN's

fate was really only sealed after Chuvashov's murder in April 2010.

This direct attack on state power obviously had no approval at the higher levels of authority. Chuvashov's alleged murderer, Korshunov, a former member of the internal security service, the FSB, was not in the dock, however, having died in 2011 in Ukraine after a grenade he was carrying exploded.

Except for Tikhomirov who claimed incessantly that his statements were delivered under torture, the rest of the BORN accused admitted their offences but not the political motive that aggravated them. "Revenge", they said, was the motive for their crimes.

These will not be last nazis to be seen in court. Far from it. In Moscow alone, there are currently several murder cases against nazis pending and there are ongoing investigations into some leading cadres of the extreme right.

Nevertheless, the certainty remains that elements within the state apparatus and the higher reaches of Russian politics can continue to instrumentalise these gangs of "useful idiots" for their own nefarious purposes. ●

Societat Civil Catalana

The Spanish far right's sinister shadow in Catalonia

Photo-journalist Jordi Borràs investigates



Catalonia was taken by surprise at the end of January 2015 when the European Parliament awarded one of its fifty prestigious European Citizen's Prizes to the Societat Civil Catalana (SCC), a newly formed unionist – that is, wanting to maintain the unity of the Spanish state – platform.

The SCC was born from the right's need to build a front for extra-parliamentary agitation to subvert Catalan independence.

In the context of the Catalan independence debate, the SCC purportedly draws the unionist movement together, publicly denying Catalonia's right to self-determination and disrespecting international democratic norms by backing the Spanish state's prohibition of an official consultation with the Catalan people on independence. It is particularly worrying that the European Parliament has made such an award to an organisation with such strong and

visible ties to the Spanish far right.

Launched in Barcelona on 23 April 2014 on Catalonia's patron saint – St. George's day – and a date strongly associated with Catalan hopes for independence, the date was clearly not selected by chance since SCC's basic premise is to undermine those hopes.

For the SCC and its hundreds of members, "sensible" Catalans are those wanting to maintain an unbreakable link to the Spanish State and true "Catalanism" is Hispanic, a concept strongly promoted

by unionist historians and blending historical revisionism, factual distortion and Spanish nationalism together.

The SCC's "opening day" attracted about 1,300 people. In the audience were many "names" from the political and cultural world, including Ciutadans (a centre-right party – Cs) and Popular Party (PP) MPs and representatives of Unión Progreso y Democracia (UPyD). Some Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (PSC) members also attended in an unofficial capacity. Also present was a delegation from the ultra-conservative party Vox, led by its general secretary Santiago Abascal and its Barcelona coordinator, Ariadna Hernández.

The Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC), the xenophobic party that models itself on Le Pen's Front National, sent five of its leaders, including general secretary Robert Hernando, to take part alongside representatives of the Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco, an outfit that, despite its provenance, receives public funding from the Spanish state and whose objective is to exalt the late fascist dictator.

If all this was not enough, there was also a nazi presence from the Republican Social Movement (MSR). This MSR, closely allied with British fascist Nick Griffin, is Spain's counterpart to the Greek nazi Golden Dawn. A few days after the SCC gathering, Jordi de la Fuente, an MSR leader, let it out to the press that his party had been part of the SCC launch's organisation, declaring "we agree with many of the ideas that SCC proposes on how to approach Catalanism. We agree because we proposed them".

The SCC, whose precise sources of funding remain obscure, is run by Josep Ramon Bosch i Codina, the son of a notorious Francoist from Santpedor, a village in central Catalonia. His father, José Maria Bosch Espinet, was a member of Fuerza Nueva (FN), at one time the most important post-Franco fascist party, figuring on its candidates' list in the 1980 elections and was a personal friend of its president and founder Blas Piñar who died in January 2014.

On top of that, Bosch Espinet was responsible for staging a Catholic Mass every 20 November in honour of Franco and the fascist Falange's founder, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, for many years. This Mass, celebrated until 2005, was only halted when new priest came to Santpedor.

Bosch Espinet's son, Josep Ramon Bosch i Codina, as he repeats constantly, is not known to have been in any party other than the PP from which, he claims, he withdrew several years ago. Nonetheless, a less known detail



is that towards the end of 2013, in Santpedor, Josep Ramon Bosch founded the supposedly historical association *Somatemps*, a far right grouping.

Bosch vehemently denies his relationship with the far right but, recently, a Catalan newspaper uncovered facts that put him to shame. Josep Ramon Bosch, apparently, had praised the fascist Piñar as "a great person" in a Facebook comment on his friend Joan Escalé Esclusa's (former Fuerza Nueva local leader) page just four days after Piñar's death.

The comment, which he deleted just minutes after the news broke, was referring to a picture of Blas Piñar and Escalé on which the latter mourned the death of "a great man, a great patriot and a great friend". Bosch completed this short eulogy with: "A great person. Hug, Joan. AE." "AE" are the initials of "Arriba España" ("Up Spain"), a well-known far right slogan.

The same newspaper also exposed Bosch's attendance at an event organised by the Fundación Nacional Francisco Franco at a Francoist monument in Gandesa, a village in southern Catalonia, on 18 July 2013, the anniversary of Franco's military coup in 1936.

His participation in this fascist event was conformed by local PPC leader Mariano Ferré, who said that Bosch was there and at the day's celebration lunch – in front of a bust of Franco – in a Gandesa restaurant.

Although, at first, Bosch made no comment on the matter, a few days later he denied everything and SCC released a statement threatening to "legal actions against any person or group besmirching our honour".

Two weeks later, however, SCC sources admitted to the leading Spanish daily newspaper *El País* that Bosch had indeed attended the Francoist gathering but was

just "accompanying his father".

It is also worthwhile asking how it is possible that SCC is sponsoring a recently published book by the far right publisher, Galland Books. The book, titled *Nos duele Cataluña. 15 españoles con 'seny'* ("Catalonia hurts us. 15 Spaniards with wisdom"), was released in Barcelona on 26 September 2014 by Bosch and Alberto Fernández Díaz, the brother of Spain's interior minister.

The name Galland Books is hardly a random one. Adolf Galland was a Nazi Luftwaffe general who, among other "merits", was part of the infamous Condor Legion of 20,000 German soldiers that Adolf Hitler sent to fight against the Spanish Republic under the orders of Franco. Considered an ace Nazi pilot in WWII, he was a military superstar.

Galland Books' website shows a startling lack of thematic diversity: books about Franco's army, the Nazi army, or Spanish soldiers in the División Azul – the Blue Division that fought for Hitler on the Eastern Front – predominate in an extensive catalogue of practically monothematic publications.

If the far rightist catalogue was not clear enough, an extensive banner of the website is taken up by *memoriablau*, an online meeting point of División Azul nostalgists and well-known contemporary nazis.

The key questions are clear: how is it possible that at the end of January 2014, the European Parliament felt able to award the European Citizen's Prize to an organisation that bears the abominable stigmata of the bloodiest dictatorships in Europe?

The answer, it seems, is simple: the facts outlined above were deliberately withheld from those who made the decision and have now created a political scandal.

Defeat of Nigel Farage

Straight after the election, HOPE not hate asked its supporters what the defeat of Nigel Farage meant to them. Here are just a few of the hundreds of replies we received...



"On this depressing morning, it is really encouraging that Farage, who has had masses of publicity in the election campaign, has not convinced the people of Thanet that his policies are good or worthy. That gives me hope and I am so encouraged by the work done by HOPE not hate to get the message home to voters in key seats – so thank you!"

Hilary, Manchester

"Is it really that much of a silver lining? I'm far more worried about a Conservative majority – most of their policies are every bit as odious as anything Farage could conjure up. Also, much as I detest UKIP, if they attracted 12% or so of the national vote, then there's something very wrong with our democracy and our voting system – the same applies to the Greens, and other smaller parties. Fine, let's spend a few minutes glorying in his defeat, but then can we get back to discussing some far more serious issues?"

Sue, Cardiff

"Delighted he (Farage) didn't win but worried – very worried – that (provided the drink doesn't scupper his hopes and his health) he'll try to become leader of his bunch of thugs once again. Right now, England doesn't feel like the tolerant, kind country I thought I grew up in. Thanks to HOPE not hate for all your efforts. We're going to need you to carry on the good work for at least five more years."

Mary, Stockport

"Congratulations Nick and the HOPE not hate team! All your hard work and dedication paid off. The UK has a great tradition of anti-racism and anti-fascism and you have made another landmark in that history!"

Stefan, Croydon

"Hi Nick and everyone at HOPE not hate. I joined you briefly at Thurrock on Thursday and got a flavour of the hard work that had gone on. It was great to meet you and the team. I'm glad, of course, that UKIP got only one seat but I'm reeling from the Tory win. There's going to be some bumpy times ahead and people are going to feel justifiably fearful...but well done for your hard work and that of the whole team."

Mary, East London

"A battle won but a war we are so far losing. Farage's defeat is a significant but ultimately hollow achievement. UKIP's vote was huge and the mood of the country proved to be supportive of the cruel and divisive right-wing policies we have been subject to. We have a long way to go."

Michael, Doncaster

"A pearl of news amongst the sea of a right-wing surge. Well done."

Joan, Watford

"What a relief. The one bright moment of a sad election. That UKIP did badly altogether is such a tribute to HOPE not hate's hard work. Thank you so much to all you people who worked so hard. I am sorry that ill health meant I could not help on the doorsteps, so very relieved that other people did."

Anna, Market Drayton

"This is, what, the third time he's resigned and he made it clear that he was open to re-standing after his break? So Farage's so-called resignation means little. What does matter is that UKIP only got one MP elected in place of the two they had and that Douglas Carswell may be open to offers to return to the Tory fold. With luck, UKIP will have no MPs by the time of the next election."

David, Colchester

"It is both good and bad news. The results show 4 million Brits now hold views that are supportive of and sympathetic to UKIP. That's a lot of intolerance. We have moved away from an inclusive liberal democracy to something a little darker. Time alone will tell if this is a temporary blip or something more permanent."

Gareth, Swansea

"Bye Farage. Your loss helped me to get back to sleep happily after unexpected election outcome. You better keep your words and resign."

Vignesh, Kingston upon Thames

"There was a huge cheer in our office. While I'm unsettled that they have come second in so many seats, their 'men of the people' brand of xenophobia will have much much reduced influence and we only have to worry about the right within the winning party. On a day where I'm exhausted and drained by a night of watching my party of choice being carved apart, this has been one thing to celebrate. And celebrate it I will. Well bloody done, HOPE not hate."

Zoe, Cambridge

"Brings laughter to me and my colleagues. We need something to cheer the disappointment and muddled political landscape. There is a great need to lead people to look outside their own backyard and bring about a positive approach for justice."

Geoffrey, Enfield

"I am very thankful for all your participation in my home town. Many of my friends expressed real fear at the thought of him being able to treat Thanet in the same way as he has treated the South East of England in the European Parliament."

Susan, Thanet

"Farage failing to win a seat is a tiny pinpoint of light in a grim night. HOPE not hate has shown that there are plenty of decent people in this country who see other people as people, regardless of the colour of their skin, their language or their religion. I feel deeply saddened by the message of selfishness that tonight's vote has conveyed; a message of 'if I'm alright Jack then why should I care about you?' We need to regroup and carry on with our campaign. We need to show that we care about our fellow humans simply because they are our fellow humans. UKIP's messages of fear, nationalism and hate have no place in 21st century Britain."

Diana, Portsmouth

"I worry that Farage's defeat is only a small silver lining. His racist, anti-foreigner, anti-Europe poison has infected millions of working class voters. This will take some cleaning up. His resignation as party leader should be taken with a large pinch of salt."

UKIP are not newsworthy without Farage. He won't be able to resist party calls for his reinstatement."

Mike, Swale

"I am pleased to have played a very small part in the UKIP rout through my support for HOPE not hate. Although, they are still a very dangerous threat to harmony in the UK, not least because Farage is likely to be voted back as leader (after all, who else do they have?). I remain hopeful that the bigots who complain about immigration will soon be silenced. Well done all who supported the Hope campaign."

Susan, Nottingham

"That Saturday, stuffing all those envelopes. WOW!!! Absolutely priceless."

Arvind, Harrow

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